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JANUARY 12, 1948

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE CONSTITUTION gives the President first crack at the headlines when a new session of Congress meets. In his three messages—on the State of the Union, the economic report and the budget report—Truman has a brief chance to take the initiative against a hostile legislature in an election year.

American politics come to a climax every four years. Now you can expect to see the great game played by professionals in its most expert form. At last the public becomes an interested spectator.

The diffusion of responsibility in Washington makes it almost impossible to follow the sport at other times. The breathless interest and excitement of the clear-cut parliamentary political battle, which should be one of the chief safeguards of the democratic process, is muted in America under the system of divided responsibility, and deep popular interest is apt to emerge only at its fourth-year climax.

H.A.W. Truman is in trouble, though whether he and his advisers know it or not is hard to say. It is too soon to appraise the full effect of the Wallace candidacy, but at this point most Washington opinions agree that these results are likely: unity behind the Truman-Marshall international program is weakened; Truman's election becomes more difficult; the prospect of a Republican congressional sweep, and of a backward-looking legislature even more conservative than the present, is increased.

This is a situation in which boldness and daring on Truman's part are essential. Congress will now sit for seven months, and it is 10 months to election.

Under normal procedure, American politics in this interval become a battle of maneuver rather than of issues. Parties grow more alike rather than

draw apart, generalities supersede specific details, edges are blurred and accusation takes the place of action. Almost certainly that is the way the Republicans are going to play it. They are going to approach the Marshall Plan hesitantly and do as little as they can about inflation. They will criticize and investigate.

On the budgetary side, while the French government under Robert Schuman is staking its life on passing higher taxes to fight inflation, Republican leaders, with Democratic support, will be throwing gasoline on the fire by cutting taxes. The Republicans are waiting to fall angrily on the President's budget message, like lions waiting for an early Christian.

It would be easy now, ahead of time, to write the comments on the budget by Carroll Reece, Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin (R, Mass.) and Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio)—raising horrified hands at federal expenditures and calling for economies even when one of the first tasks of the new session will be to put back some of the money taken out in phony "economies" at the last session.

That is the way the GOP is going to play the game; almost certainly Truman will lose if he tries to play it that way. His best chance is to make a fight. Events won't wait, the public implores leadership, the time has passed when it was enough merely to put the other side in a hole.

If you want our opinion, Harry, this is a pretty stupid Congress anyway; the man who lived in your house before you could have put it out with a couple of swift swipes.

Fine speech. While we are in this advice-giving mood, we might as well nominate Truman's running mate. Our choice, folks, is Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court. We make it on the basis of his Altgeld



memorial speech in Chicago, December 30, which hardly got into the newspapers. It is one of the finest speeches we ever read, calling for generous treatment of Europe and protection of civil rights at home (see page 6).

We have been handing out so much free advice in this column that we haven't left the space we intended for commenting on the hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Peter Altgeld.

Altgeld was the "forgotten eagle," the man who, as Governor of Illinois, pardoned the wrongfully convicted Haymarket anarchists, supported mi-

nority rights, denounced the judicial frame-up, lost every major fight he ever undertook—and left us one of our noblest heritages of civic courage and daring.

A week before his anniversary, the Supreme Court gave him a sort of memorial of its own, in one of the most stinging rebukes ever administered to a state. It seems that Illinois' legal processes continue to be peculiar. One Tony Marino, a friendless Italian immigrant, had been illegally imprisoned for 22 years, the Court found.

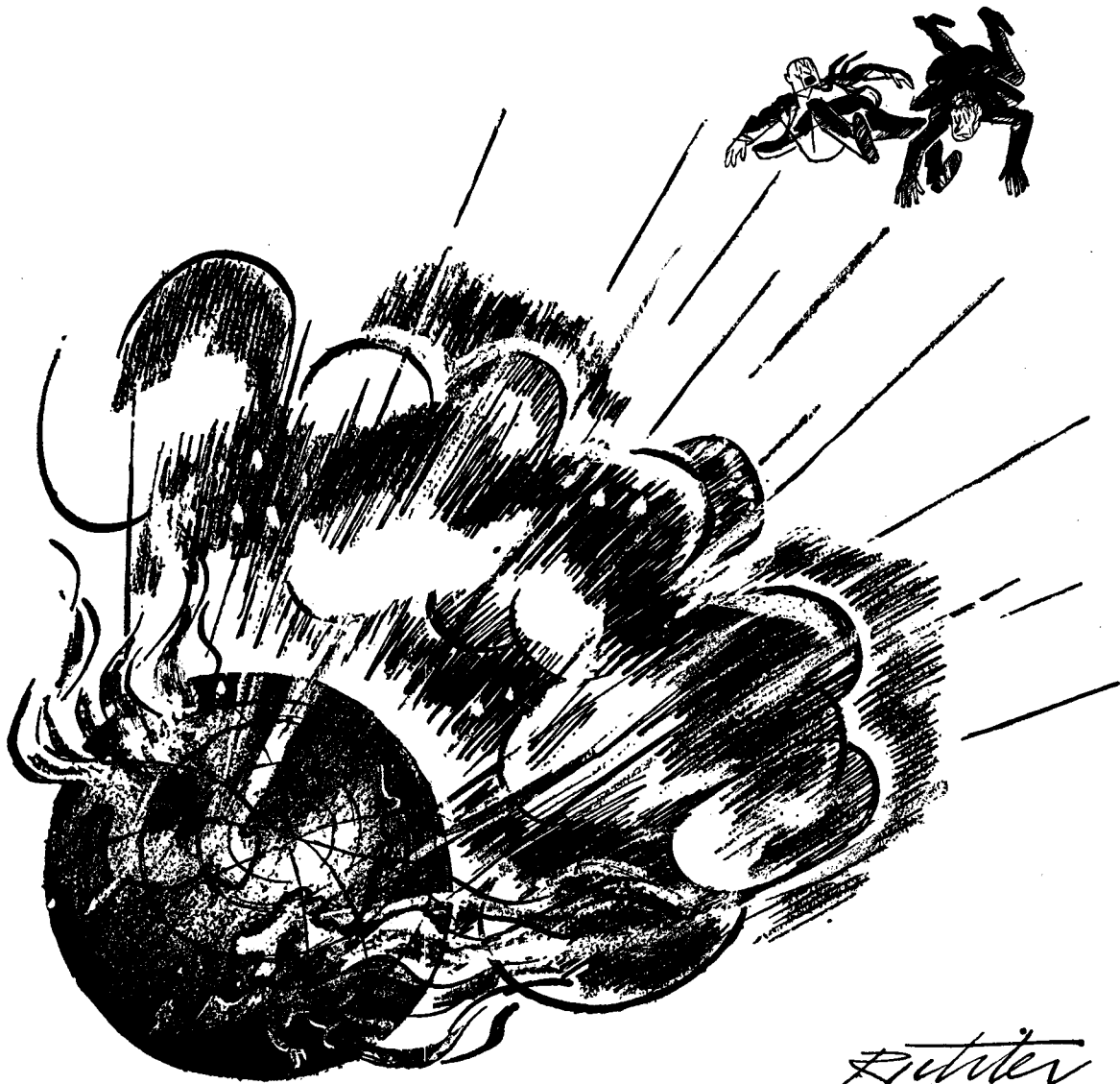
Even the Illinois attorney general admitted the imprisonment was illegal. He explained, however, that it was

just one of those things, and that Tony would get a handsome apology. That didn't seem sufficient to the high court. It wasn't that it was just this case, the judges said, it was the state's whole foggy procedure when a citizen's rights were denied—the "Illinois merry-go-round," as Justice Wiley B. Rutledge pithily put it.

Well, well. Times have changed since Altgeld's day. Then a citizen was deprived of a fair trial under the pressure of hatred and vengeance; now the same result is obtained by the operation of civic apathy and simple indifference.

Washington

T. R. B.



"You and your 'get-tough policy'!"

**THE WEEK**

THIS space was reserved, some days before press time, for a full statement about the resignation of Bill Hale, chief editor of *New Republic* articles. It seemed logical to suppose that his resignation, routine enough in ordinary times, would tar the brush for many of our esteemed contemporaries who don't like this magazine, its former editor and its traditional liberal policies.

Surprisingly, though, the incident was pretty fairly reported, all things considered. Even *Time* magazine managed to be relatively straightforward. Of Hale's resignation and Henry Wallace's change of status from editor to contributing editor, *Time* wrote:

"Publisher Michael Straight . . . announced that as Wallace will run for President, he would personally step in as editor, with Wallace staying on as a contributor. 'The paper,' said Straight, 'will be independent . . . [not] the organ of a third party.' Some of the staff were not so sure that the *New Republic* could keep Henry Wallace and its independence as well. William Harlan Hale, articles editor, pleaded with Straight to cut Wallace loose. Anything less, he argued, would be a 'virtual endorsement' of Wallace-

Through the Roof

SINCE THE END of the OPA, harassed butchers have had an increasingly tough time with their computing scales, which generally figure only up to 60 cents a pound for meat. Now, the Toledo Scale Company has come to their rescue with new computing charts which figure up to 95 cents a pound.

The company also provides a special chart, for fancier stores, which computes up to \$1.70 per pound. There is no estimate of how long even these will be usable.

for-President. When Straight said no, Hale quit."

That was about it. Hale didn't want to be articles editor if Wallace became a contributing editor. But Hale remains as a staff contributor. Hope you like his "Reports on a War" on page 27.

THE SECOND OF THE EIGHTIETH

Siege. President Truman has laid careful siege to the new session of the 80th Congress. The threefold blast of his State of the Union message, his economic report to Congress and the budget message was designed to offer a resounding challenge to the Republicans and a strong platform for his own presidential candidacy. Truman has resolved to bring some discipline into his cabinet this year and present a solid administration front to the GOP at all times.

But the opposition does not appear even slightly shaken by this initial Truman thunder. The key congressional figures in the presidential race among the Republicans—Senator Taft and Vandenberg, Speaker Martin and Majority Leader Halleck (leading Dewey man in Congress)—are calmly proceeding with their own individual plans for making life terrible for Harry Truman in 1948.

Taft, unabashed by the results of the Gallup Poll "trial heat" between himself and the President (55 percent Truman, 33 percent Taft, 12 percent no opinion), is confident that he can assure the defeat of Truman's drives for compulsory military training, price control and a long-range European reconstruction program in the proposed form, almost without help.

Martin and Halleck agree with Taft on so many points that it will be hard

Hats Off!

LOS ANGELES (NR correspondent)

THE California state commander of the American Legion, Harry Foster, has asked the Glendale Post to discipline the 12 Legionnaires convicted of breaking up a meeting of the La Crescenta Democratic Club (the NR, December 29). Foster's objection: by wearing their Legion caps on the sortie, the raiders were guilty of "misuse of insignia."

for them to make a record that is not strictly "me too" to the Ohio Senator. All three of these men are doing their best to make it so embarrassing for Vandenberg to continue "collaborating" with the political enemy in an election year that even he will abandon the "bipartisan foreign policy" Truman and Marshall are still relying on for passage of ERP.

Truman has made a good start. But the chances are that Taft will make a stronger finish. As the 80th Congress, second session, gets under way, it doesn't look good for much except politics.

NEW DEALER LANDIS

Out. The removal of James Landis, one of the few remaining New Dealers in Washington, from the chairmanship of the Civil Aeronautics Board was dictated by the aviation industry. Landis' record was too good for the big airlines to take.

The big lines generally, except for TWA and a few smaller companies, have objected to Landis' concentration on improving safety measures.

The airlines have been after Landis' hide for a long time. They finally nailed it on the wall with the help of presidential assistant John W. Steelman and Secretary of Commerce W.

Averell Harriman. With Landis out of the way, it will be easier for Harriman to move on toward his real goal: a Department of Transportation to supervise aviation as well as railroads, an older Harriman interest.

The Democratic National Committee staff, which favored reappointment of Landis on the basis of his excellent record, never had a chance against such powerful opposition within the Truman Administration. Landis' rumored successor is a Harriman choice: Stanton Griffis, present Ambassador to Poland and former investment banker.

BRITAIN SITS TIGHT

JERUSALEM (ONA correspondent)

Guilt. Examination of many cases of Arab violence strongly indicates that the British have deliberately ignored the responsibilities inherent in their mandate powers. The British attitude might be broken down into two policies: "A," inaction; and "B," repres-

sive action against Jewish defense organizations while tolerating Arab violence.

Under Policy "A," the British have given no protection to Jewish civil servants who have been repeatedly attacked by Arabs; British patrols have taken no stronger measures against Arab train robbers than simply firing volleys in the air; and British military officials have allowed Arabs to set up road blocks and checkpoints in various parts of Jerusalem where even members of His Majesty's forces submit to identification procedures.

Since December 23 there have been at least 16 train robberies by Arab gangs. On December 28, Arabs were able without interference to transfer to waiting trucks 130 sacks of mail, 75 sacks of grain, 107 sacks of beans, 230 sacks of cement and a carload of boxwood.

Under policy "B," the British have banned Jewish taxies in Jerusalem, have pinpointed Haganah defense

posts at night and disarmed the garisons by day, and have sentenced a Haganah fighter to five years in prison for carrying arms (no Arab has been thus sentenced since disturbances began).

BROKEN FAMILY

Foundlings. Supreme Court Justice J. Edward Lumbard Jr. has decided in New York that three children of a 48-year-old shoemaker, Hampportzoon Choolokian, may not join their father in Soviet Armenia. Two of the children, aged 12 and 11, will remain in the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, while a six-year-old daughter will continue to be raised in the New York Foundling Hospital.

Lumbard's decision rejected Choolokian's plea to force the institutions to give up his children so that they could accompany him abroad (the NR, December 22).

The judge ruled that the father had

JUSTICE DOUGLAS SPEAKS PLAINLY

JOHAN PETER ALTGELD, the Illinois Governor who pardoned three of the wrongfully condemned Haymarket "anarchists," sacrificed his political career fighting for a just but unpopular cause. Last week in Chicago, Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the US Supreme Court delivered a speech commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of Altgeld's birth. His address, ignored by almost all newspapers, deeply impressed those who heard it.

Recalling that Altgeld was labeled a "subversive influence" because of the Haymarket pardons, Douglas turned to 1948 for a comparison:

"Yes, it takes courage to stand between an unpopular minority and the community, insisting that our Bill of Rights was designed for the protection of all people, whatever their race, creed or political faith. The lawyer may feel uneasy when it seems that important clients may slip away

because of his attitude. The editor may be tempted to stand mute by reason of the views of important advertisers. Even the clergyman may be under pressure to hold his tongue because of the influence of some of his parishioners.

"But those who are devoted to the democratic ideal expressed in our Bill of Rights will take the direct and daring course. Once they are sure of their facts and know they are doing right they will, like Altgeld, espouse the cause of the victims of ignorance, prejudice or passion. They, too, may be pilloried or cursed. But institutions become great by the greatness of the men who championed them, by the greatness of the advocacy that defends them.

"A people indifferent to their civil liberties do not deserve to keep them, and in this revolutionary age may not be expected to keep them long. A people who proclaim their civil lib-

erties but extend them only to preferred groups start down the path to totalitarianism. They emulate either the dictatorship of the Right or the dictatorship of the Left. In doing this they erase a basic distinction between our system of government and totalitarianism.

"To allow this to happen is to lose by default. Far better to lose pleading the cause of decency and of justice. Then we win greatness even in defeat, and leave behind a rich heritage for those who later rebuild on the ashes of our lost hopes.

"But there will be no failure if we adhere steadfastly to our faith. For the goal of people of all races is toward a system which respects their dignity, frees their minds and allows them to worship their God in their own way. None has yet designed an article of political faith more suited to those ends than our own Bill of Rights."

provided no "concrete plan" for the children's welfare in Armenia, and added that to make such a finding he would have to rely on the "vague and general assurances of the Soviet consul here in New York."

Choolokian will appeal the decision through his New York lawyer.

GOOD NEWS FROM CHINA

Opposition. Continued deterioration of the Chinese government's position in the north China civil war has encouraged prominent Kuomintang moderates, particularly in Canton and Hong Kong, to consider making an open declaration against Chiang Kai-shek's present attitude toward the Communists. The declaration, when it comes, will foreshadow the creation of a new movement within the central government.

Although the group is operating behind the scenes at present, its backers are known to include a wide variety of political, military, financial and educational names which will astonish Americans. Owen Lattimore, reporting for the Overseas News Agency, declares that the inner core of the party will consist of highly respected veterans of the Kuomintang. Their names, Lattimore says, "will be an assurance that the new movement will be able to carry on the functions of government."

The men involved have hitherto been regarded as either fully committed to the all-out civil war, or powerless to stop the movement. The fact that they are now about to come out in the open against Chiang is a reliable indication of the inner crumbling of the Kuomintang extremists and the seriousness of the field reverses Chiang has suffered.

JIMMY WINS OUT

Exit Ed. The resignation of Edwin W. Pauley as Democratic national committeeman has removed the last formidable conservative opponent to James Roosevelt's control of the California Democratic organization. Pauley's move will also allow Roosevelt, as chairman of

Mare Nostrum

THE Atomic Energy Commission last week notified the countries of the world that an area of 30,000 square miles surrounding the Eniwetok atoll, where atomic-weapon experiments will be conducted after January 31, is henceforth "dangerous to trespassers." The commission gave added warning that the US soon might have to close off an even wider area of the neutral body of water heretofore known as the Pacific.

the state Democratic committee, to concentrate his attention on battling the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

In announcing Pauley's resignation, Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, explained that Pauley had not been able to devote any time to his committee post since 1945. McGrath did not mention what part Pauley's recently publicized grain speculations had played in influencing the California oilman to step down.

FREEDOM FROM FRANCO

PORTLAND, ORE. (NR correspondent)

Stowaways. The McCormack Steamship Company quotes the price of a one-way passage to Venezuela as "around \$300." West Coast labor leaders, never before concerned about the cost of winter cruises, are now vitally interested because all that remains in the way of life and liberty for six young Spanish refugees at present in an immigration-detention camp in Seattle is the price of six steamship tickets to South America.

The young men arrived in Portland from Spain on Columbus Day as stowaways aboard the lumber freighter *Arthur P. Fairfield*, only to learn that the US no longer is a refuge for the politically tempest tossed. A deportation order against them was upheld by the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington last week. But in affirming the exclusion order, Thomas Finucane, chairman of the appeals board, said the youths, ranging in age from 18 to 25, would be permitted to go to a South American country instead of Spain if visas could be ob-

tained and transportation arrangements completed before the deportation was carried out.

All of the boys refused to serve under the Franco flag before they fled from Spain. Several were active in the anti-fascist underground. Irwin Goodman, who represents them, told the NR, "We are in a race with time." Union officials have wired Senator Wayne Morse (R) to take up the matter of visas with the Venezuelan Ambassador in Washington. The chance of getting them seems excellent because the Venezuelan consul here says his country needs farmers and artisans, and indicates that the boys would be welcome.

But the problem of getting the \$1,800 needed for the steamship tickets has labor leaders stumped. The boys would be willing to walk over the Rockies (as they did over the Pyrenees) and to work their way south on a banana boat plying between New Orleans and Caracas, but the US Government won't let them do it. Meanwhile West Coast maritime workers are passing the hat, and time in the lives of the six young workers is running out with the tide across the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

"PETITION PUSHERS"

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

The aims. Through its chairman, Hugh Bryson (president of the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union), California's Independent Progressive Party organization has indicated that it is concerned primarily with establishing a permanent third party in the state, and secondly with promoting the candidacy of Henry Wallace.

Nevertheless, declares Bryson, Wallace's announcement that he will run for President has given considerable drive to the IPP's petition campaign to be put on the ballot. More than 10,000 "petition-pushers" have rounded up an excess of 200,000 signatures already, and Bryson expects the number of canvassers in the field to double within two weeks. The IPP needs 300,000 more names before the end of January.

NEGATIVE BENEFITS OF A PACT

LONDON (by cable)

by Frederick Kuh

AS THE TWO WORLDS spin into 1948, people are growing more modest in their hopes for international sanity. One feels grateful for the avoidance of a fatal collision. With this unassuming outlook, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement signed in Moscow the other day got less notice than it deserved.

Essentials of the agreement are the exchange of 750,000 tons of Soviet coarse grains—barley, corn and oats—for British rails and machinery, including equipment for the timber industry and electrical installations. Britain eased the repayment terms for the big credits owed her by Russia. Nevertheless, this short-term trade pact has negative political advantages besides the obvious economic benefits. It is not the sort of deal which the two governments would have concluded if they reckoned on an early war against each other. Furthermore, it reminded folks of the forgotten truth that, if they possess the will, the two countries can sweep aside their conflicting ideologies and do business together.

Open for business. The agreement is another sign that the Soviet Union in its attitude toward the West has abstained from recoiling into complete isolationism. After the Council of the Foreign Ministers fizzled out and the German peace treaty was put on the shelf without mothballs, Russia grasped the initiative to keep alive the negotiation of an Austrian settlement, on which new proposals are now coming from Moscow. Renewal of Anglo-Soviet trade fits the same pattern of open chinks in the curtain.

Russia's supply of feedstuffs will save Britain the large dollar expendi-

ture which would have been necessary to buy these grains elsewhere. Any strengthening of Britain's economic position improves the prospect of the Western European Recovery Program. To that extent the British-Russian commercial deal slightly contradicts Soviet hostility toward the Marshall Plan.

Despite sustained tension lately, aggravated by the formation of the Greek rebel government, Russia and the Western powers are moving warily in the more crucial regions. We are passing through a stage in which this caution is conspicuous in Germany, the most important arena of the East-West struggle.

Predictions. Before the Big Four foreign ministers met in London, it was thought axiomatic that their failure would result in the swift establishment of separate western and eastern German states. Notwithstanding denials, it is a fact that some of the top American and British representatives in Berlin had made plans for setting up a western German government and parliament. The Russians in turn contemplated the possible dissolution of the Allied Control Council for Germany as a prelude to inviting the Americans, British and French to withdraw from Berlin.

If the Western powers were cut off in Berlin, they were prepared to undertake the costly provisioning by air of their three-quarters of that city. This might have culminated in the question of whether the Russians would try forcibly to interfere with such a Western air service for Berlin.

Why have none of these things yet happened? The short answer is that each camp, East and West, prefers to let the other make the first overt act. Any of these decisive moves

would probably start a chain reaction. Whichever side acted first would shoulder a grave responsibility, not just for deepening the gulf in Germany and Europe but for sharpening dangerously the struggle between Russia and the West.

The memorandum Bevin has now prepared for the British cabinet regarding coming developments in Germany is understood to recommend continued caution, particularly by avoiding provocative defiance of Russia.

Expected moves. Two early decisions are likely: completion of the economic union of the Saar with France, and merciless deflation in Germany, including devaluation of the Reichsmark. According to one version, the policy of the powers in western Germany will be to keep wages down and raise prices as an incentive to work. That is a fancy way of saying that hunger would be used as a whip to drive workers in western Germany to produce more goods.

Long-term measures would come much later. They will involve delicate negotiations among the United States, Britain and France, especially on control of Ruhr industry and on the political structure of western Germany. The French government wants agreement on these fundamental issues to precede the fusion of the French zone with Bizonia.

Officials in London believe that neither the Saar nor the launching of the deflationary program in western Germany will provoke those strong Soviet retaliatory actions which hold the risk of acute conflict. By adopting a policy of one-at-a-time, we are about to begin the gradual consolidation of western Germany. The hope is that no single one of the measures by itself will justify sharp Russian counter-measures.

Frederick Kuh is the London correspondent of the Chicago Sun-Times.

WHO IS WRECKING THE MARSHALL PLAN?

The Betrayal of the Original Concept

THE MARSHALL PLAN is in real danger; it is being wrecked by its enemies and by its friends.

In June, in a few words, Secretary Marshall gave life and hope to peace. He proposed the building of a new Europe through the common effort of European countries, backed by the coöperation of all nations and aided by the resources of America. It was far more than a recovery program. Our aid, Marshall said, "should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative." It was also a new starting point for One World. "Our policy," Marshall added, "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos."

World peace through common action for security had failed. World peace through common action for welfare was a new approach. How far it represented at that moment the ambitions of the forces that dominate American politics did not matter. At last there was something to fight for. Immediately the Socialist governments of Britain and France started to turn the concept into a program. And immediately the job of wrecking the concept began.

The responsibility is not America's alone. Why Molotov went to Paris prepared to praise the Marshall Plan and left determined to bury it, we don't know. It is clear that when the Cominform, in demanding the destruction of the Marshall Plan, declared that "the greatest danger to the working class today is that it will underestimate its own strength," it repeated the blunders of over-optimism that are always made by leaders of a rigid and dogmatic ideology. The way was then opened for the transformation of the Marshall Plan into a plan to extend American influence in Europe and deepen world division.

Backed by a great power, Western Europe could have held America to Marshall's original concept. The unqualified attack by the USSR on a program important to recovery on

any terms, left the 16 Western European nations abandoned and helpless. Angry and sick at heart, they have been bound and gagged, barely able to utter a word of protest at the wrecking of a concept which might have led to peace.

At Paris, the 16 nations took Europe's problems as a whole and planned to raise Europe's exports to 30 percent over prewar levels within four years. That was the "cure" for Europe's slow decline in world trade and its loss of overseas income because of changes brought about by the war.

Specific production goals were established for food, fuel, electricity, oil refining, steel and transportation. A European TVA was planned for the Alps, and a customs union was agreed on as an objective. Plans were made to modernize and develop plant capacity, largely through European financing. Trade was to be increased with Eastern Europe and Russia; American aid would complete the industrialization program. "The programs as a whole are interdependent," the 16 nations reported. "Every element in them depends upon the others—mining machinery upon steel; steel upon coal; coal upon food—and in turn depends upon the availability of supplies from overseas in the right quantities and at the right times, upon the maintenance of internal financial stability and upon continuing and effective mutual help between the participating countries."

This common program was to be administered by a representative agency for Western Europe, allocating priorities, administering joint efforts and working as closely as possible with the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations.

The 16 nations spoke of this plan as a "historic and unprecedented step forward."

The Soviet government declared that any nation joining the organiza-



DRAWING BY ZADIG

tion of Western Europe would be acting in an unfriendly way. So for neutral countries such as Sweden and Switzerland, and for all nations anxious for friendship with the USSR, the risk of membership became great. It became doubly great when America cut off relief supplies from Poland and made it clear that the Marshall Plan was to implement the Truman Doctrine.

By completely reorganizing the Marshall Plan as it was prepared at Paris, America ended the hope for the economic federation and combined action for recovery that the Paris conference planned.

Of course the Paris report needed to be modified in the light of available American supplies. But our intervention went far beyond that. Under pressure from the National Advisory Council, led by Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, and the bipartisan bloc led by Senator Vandenberg, the State Department forced the 16 nations to reduce the size of the program by \$7 billion. This made nonsense of the specific and interrelated production goals that the Paris conference had established. So the "cure" was never tried. Once again we talked reconstruction and meant relief.

The steering committee of the Paris conference came to Washington in early October to be told that even the smaller program would have to be scaled down and completely rewritten. The committee replied that this was impossible within the framework of the concept set by Secretary Marshall. It turned the task over to the American government, and with that Marshall's concept died. Then the Harriman committee, dominated by industry, rewrote the report.

The *aim* of the program was no longer directed against "hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos," but at an ideology. The interest of America in Europe, it declared, was partly "strategic and political," aimed against "a system . . . where iron discipline by the state ruthlessly stamped out individual liberties."

The *nature* of the program was brought into line with American interests. We have sent large shipments of foodstuffs, cotton and tobacco and petroleum to Europe. Machinery, textiles and iron and steel products we have been sending to more profitable Latin American markets. To send the semi-finished steel that Europe required would have meant continuing shortages, allocations and a shift from Latin American markets where we have replaced Britain as a supplier. The committee proposed that we send finished steel instead, and bring the Marshall program into line with existing exports. "The need for holding inflation in check," the Harriman committee declared, "bears directly on the magnitude of the aid we can and should send."

As to *administration*, the Harriman committee barely mentioned the Committee on European Economic Cooperation. It proposed an American organization with representatives in Europe. It laid out in a curious fashion the principles by which these representatives were to be guided. In "making explicit the principles that are imbedded in the Paris report," the committee attacked government controls over inflation and analyzed the problems of inflation in Europe in the same terms used by the Conservative Party in Britain and conservatives on the European continent.

The Harriman committee stressed the importance of rebuilding Germany. Here and in its other phases, its work was reinforced by the War Department through its consultants, such as Lewis Brown, and a group in Congress led by a committee staff economist, William Yandell Elliott, who believes that major investments should be poured into Germany and allowed to spill over into Western Europe. Of course the problems created by a Democratic Administration and a Republican Congress are profound. But they are not always solved by a sacrifice of principle as when, again and again, the Administration has submitted to and even exceeded congressional pressures. For example, the State Department has taken the recommendation of the Herter committee providing access for America to strategic materials overseas in exchange for our aid, and made this its own program.

The President's version of the Marshall Plan follows very closely the Harriman committee report. It is political in purpose, piecemeal in practice; paying lip service to European coöperation but constructed as a series of bargains driven between America and each nation according to rigid and unenforceable conditions laid down by our Congress. Its size is tremendous in terms of precedent but inadequate in terms of its own stated objectives.

It grasps the moral authority offered to a self-governing European organization by the 16 nations when they pledged themselves, as part of the original program, to work for financial stability, balanced trade, increased production and greater coöperation. It gives this authority to an American administrator and his staff, charged with supervising the new program "project by project and nation by nation." The administrator will control blocked currencies, he will purchase goods from other countries, he will watch over distribution. His moral authority clearly extends over the expenditures of each government for health, welfare and armaments; its price and wage policies; its foreign and labor policies; its trade agreements, its control of its own currency and its program for national

Now the dangers are further increased because France has swallowed the humiliating terms attached to interim aid. Our government may conclude that any humiliation will be endured by Western Europe. A gift to Chiang, sufficient to buy and fire a few shells into the vastness of Communist China, jeopardizes the whole concept of overseas aid for Americans who know how these sums can be usefully spent at home.

All these are grave weaknesses in the Administration plan, analyzed further in this issue by Victor Perlo and David Ramsey. Are they fatal weaknesses? In the following pages Henry Wallace rejects the present plan, and calls for a new program, administered by the UN. His program, of course, is right. It has no chance of

success in the present Congress. This year the pressure from the Right to complete the wrecking of the Marshall Plan is many times the pressure from the Left to return it to its first principles. Helen Fuller reports that given today's pressures, Congress may throw out even the Administration's plan and enact the Republican plan, known in Europe as "Herter's Ton of Flesh."

Given these alternatives, internationalists in Congress will start with the Administration plan, trying to improve it; resisting further efforts by Republicans to wreck it; fighting for its essentials: a four-year program, the full \$17 billion and administration by a federal agency. They will do this, knowing that Europe's problems are immediate and terrible, and that without aid Europe faces ruin.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

The Wreckers on Capitol Hill

Now that the European Recovery Program, cut down and redirected since the report of the 16 nations, has been sent to Congress for enactment, the wrecking job of the Republicans is about to begin. Administration leaders, liberal Democrats, and the group of insurgent Republicans led by Wayne Morse, Ralph Flanders and Raymond Baldwin in the Senate are ready to fight for the Administration's measure. But far from trying to liberalize the terms, they doubt whether any program as liberal as the Administration's measure has a chance of passing the 80th Congress.

The blunt truth is that 1948 is an election year and the second session of the 80th Congress is concerned less with what happens in Europe from now until November, than with what happens in America on November 2.

Personalities. In this sense, ERP is part of a larger record that members of Congress seeking reelection will try to establish. All the Republican leaders—Taft, Vandenberg, Speaker Martin, House Majority Leader Halleck—will weigh their actions in terms of the effect on the Republican presidential nomination.

Each man will be out to polish up his own star and dim those of his

by **Helen Fuller**

rivals, Republican and Democratic. Taft will fight Truman's European Recovery Program and Vandenberg will fight Taft's substitute version. Taft will block Truman's demand for inflation controls—necessary for the ERP—and Flanders and Morse will try to override Taft's obstructionist attitude. Truman will oppose, for a time, the Republican drive for tax cuts in the upper brackets, and Republicans Morse and Langer will assist him.

In all the issues that will be considered in this session, shifting alliances based on opportunism rather than principle will form and break up. But the bipartisan bloc will be in trouble. It steered through the aid to Greece and Turkey, won the appropriation for China, held Congress to the Truman Doctrine and made the "get tough" policy possible. Now the Administration faces the necessity of further appropriations for Greece and China, as well as ERP, at a time when every congressman is constructing a political platform of lower federal expenditures. More than ever the Administration needs the right kind of alliance with Republican leaders. But apart from growing differences in approach, bipartisan politics are increas-

ingly unpopular in an election year.

Insisting that the threat of communism creates an emergency in Europe is like flogging a tiring horse. This Congress knows that there are emergencies, at home as well as abroad.

In all of the major subjects which are to be considered—European recovery, education, housing, health, agriculture, social security, civil rights, labor laws and veterans' benefits—there is very little sense of emergency in this Congress. Only tax reduction is a matter so urgent that it cannot wait. For reducing taxes is part of a political build-up for November.

Why? The fear of communism is great and pressure of the newspapers and radio for action on ERP is strong. But, congressmen wonder, do the people really care? And even if action is necessary, why be committed for four years ahead, why give all of \$17 billion away when we're pinching pennies to cut taxes at home, and why give the money to the federal government to administer? Voters are too concerned with their own problems to worry much about Europe. Why help the Democrats by passing their program? For these reasons and other considerations, real in a democracy,

the Republicans are solidly against the Administration's recovery program. They are planning, not to amend it, but to replace it with a program of their own.

Alone among Republican leaders, Senator Vandenberg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Representative Eaton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, have resisted pressure to oppose the Administration's measure. But even they are weakening. Eaton, who has refused to introduce a substitute bill, has made it clear that he will not offer the Administration's version to the House.

And Vandenberg, who hopes that he can keep the major part of the debate within his committee, where it can be controlled, has asked the Brookings Institute to investigate the problems of administering the program as a means of delaying capitulation and acceptance of the proposals of Representative Herter.

But Republican pressures are increasing, and Washington observers who thought that Congress might pass the present program by the Administration's deadline of April 1, now hope that Congress will vote the same program by June 1.

Industry divided. This Congress responds to the pressure of industry. And if American business leaders knew which they hated most, taxes or communism, the mind of Congress

might be clearer. But industry is divided. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce both want some program, but disagree as to its nature and size. Bankers like Winthrop Aldrich and industrialists like Philip Reed favor a substantial program with substantial controls. But steel manufacturers like Hiland Batcheller of Allegheny-Ludlum are torn between an understanding of the need for ERP and the need to enlarge capacity to produce ERP steel.

Among other bodies, church groups, women's organizations, and most trade unions (Hutcheson's carpenters and the left-wing CIO unions are exceptions) are for the ERP. The Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange have endorsed it. Yet "farm bloc" members like Representatives John Bell Williams (D, Miss.), Stephen Pace (D, Ga.), and Senators John H. Overton (D, La.) and Kenneth Wherry (R, Nebr.) are following the fertilizer trust and the farm-equipment and farm-processing interests. They say that voters will not stand for a program to export the fertilizer, seeds and tractors needed at home. Lobbyists for steel-using consumer-goods manufacturers are using this argument on Representatives from non-farm sections with equal effect.

Textile manufacturers who fear that European recovery would mean cheap competition from abroad are opposing action. And the American Tariff League is adding weight to this line of

attack. "We must realize," Dr. John Lee Coulter told the annual meeting of the League, "that no matter what form the Marshall Plan finally takes it can be worked out only by increasing imports to the US to compete with our domestic industry."

As the exhaustive congressional hearings begin, the Administration will call on Secretary Marshall, James F. Byrnes and Bernard Baruch to open its case. Its efforts will be directed by Lewis Douglas, temporarily recalled from London for this purpose. It hopes for radio and newspaper support to offset Republican organization strength, and for speaking tours arranged in doubtful states by Henry Stimson's Committee for the Marshall Plan for European Reconstruction.

The alternative. On the opposition side, Representative Herter and his Committee on Foreign Aid have so far dealt with the repayment and administration of American aid, without mentioning the amount of aid or the length of the commitments. Trailing behind Herter, Senator Taft has supported his approach. But Taft will insist on slashing the amount Truman has asked for and granting appropriations for one year only. Representatives Martin and Halleck are anxious to whip this alternative program into shape, to get it out on the floor and to pass it as the means of defeating the Administration's bill.

This alternative program will be far less in total amount than \$17 billion. It will be authorized for one year only. It will rely on loans far more than on outright gifts. It will be made available under explicit political conditions. It will be administered by a government corporation headed by a bipartisan board of policy-makers. This corporation, the outgrowth of a proposal by Winthrop Aldrich, will be staffed and run in order to open Europe to private investment and to discourage public operation. The outlandish amendments that individual Republicans will attempt to tag onto it may be defeated—but if the Republican plan passes, all resemblances to Marshall's concept will be finally lost. The wrecking job will be complete.

"GIFT-WRAPPING"



HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

My Alternative for the Marshall Plan

IN AN ADDRESS in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on December 30, I laid down the principles which seem to me essential for a genuine plan for world recovery. I think the best use I can make of my space in the *New Republic* this week is to repeat what I said then, especially in view of the hostile reception and inadequate report given my ideas by most of the American press.

Yesterday I announced that there would be a new party, and to that end I announced that I am an independent candidate for the presidency in 1948.

My final decision was made solely on the basis of giving the American people a chance to vote for peace and security. I fear the die was cast when Truman came out for military aid to Greece and Turkey last March. Steadily during 1947 our help to foreign lands has been in the spirit of fighting Russia, not in the spirit of helping starving humanity. Steadily the military, the Wall Street press and the State Department have been waging psychological warfare against the American people to blind them to the fact that our unilateral help to Europe intervenes in the internal politics of nearly every Western European nation, that the ordinary European worker looks on it as naked imperialism—or even worse, in the case of Greece—and that in the end the cold war will end in bombs and expeditionary forces across Canada and the Scandinavian peninsula.

There are no more tragic victims of our insane policy, which will bankrupt us morally and financially, than the Greek people. Our first loan has been spent. Greek children still cry for milk, while the American-trained Greek army parades the severed heads of guerrillas through the streets, and a corrupt government decrees the death penalty for legitimate trade-union activities. The people of the world must see that there is another America than this Truman-

led, Wall Street-dominated, military-backed group that is blackening the name of American democracy all over the world.

The original Marshall Plan speech sounded good to me when it was delivered. The principles of self-help, mutual aid and American support were the same that I had suggested on many occasions. The differences now are clear. They are fatal differences. When the Marshall Plan was announced, I declared that the Truman Doctrine would have to be scrapped to give it meaning. It has not been scrapped. With the Truman Doctrine as its core, the so-called European Recovery Program is a plan to interfere in the social, economic and political affairs of countries receiving aid. We are saying, "We will help you if you have our kind of government and subordinate your economy to ours."

We have invested \$400 million in Greece and Turkey; \$2 billion in China and \$25 billion for our armed forces to support a foreign policy which leads to war, not peace. We *can* afford to invest in European reconstruction, *but* our policy must not require billions of dollars for arms, and millions of men in arms to back it up.

We can't stop communism or any other idea in Western Europe with military might or by supporting undemocratic governments. The bipartisan coalition has allied the American people with kings, fascists and reactionaries.

The Russians certainly aren't blameless for the cold war. But even if we should accept every charge made against the Russians, it does not excuse an American policy which runs contrary to American principles.

A practical policy must begin with genuine support for the United Nations. We have been ignoring the UN.

We circumvented the UN in the name of "emergency" to send military help to Greece and Turkey. We killed UNRRA, which had Europe on the road to recovery. We ignored the UN in proposing the Marshall Plan. We must reaffirm our faith in the UN. It cannot succeed if the most powerful nation in the world destroys confidence in the principle of world organization and operates in direct violation of that principle. We can't talk the language of one world and use our economic and political power to split that one world in two.

Today, when there is almost unanimous agreement on the necessity for helping Europe, is the time to "get practical."

If we reject the Marshall Plan as it is now proposed to apply it, this does not mean that we are without a plan. We propose a plan based on world unity and friendship that will lay the foundation of peace, not a plan based on world division and conflict that sows the seeds of war. We propose a plan that will effectuate the fine words spoken by Secretary Marshall at Harvard last June—not a plan whose deeds contradict those words.

The experience of UNRRA proved that such a plan is eminently practical—that such a plan will work. That experience showed indeed that *only* such a plan will work for peace—not war.

In the past 15 months I have repeatedly indicated the elements of such a plan. Let me restate them in brief and concrete terms:

¶ My plan calls for a proposal from the US to the UN for the establishment of a UN Reconstruction Fund, modeled after UNRRA, for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the war-devastated lands in Europe and Asia to the end that their industry and agriculture may be restored and placed on a self-sustaining basis at the earliest possible moment.

¶ I propose that this Reconstruction

Fund be administered by an agency of the UN established for that purpose.

¶ The Reconstruction Fund should be made up of contributions appropriated by our Congress and other nations possessed of the means, in an amount sufficient to finance an over-all five-year plan. A part of the fund may be in the form of loans and the balance in the form of a grant.

¶ The UN agency should be directed to give priority in the allocation of funds to those nations which suffered most severely from Axis aggression. Allocations must be based solely on these considerations of merit and need, without regard to the character of the politics and social institutions of the recipient nations.

¶ The allocation of funds by the UN agency must be made with scrupulous respect for the national sovereignty of all beneficiary countries. There must be no political or economic conditions attached to loans or grants. In particular, the UN agency must not make aid conditional upon conformity by any nation with an over-all economic plan, but must leave each nation free fully to develop its own national economic plan. Aid must not be coupled with any restrictions upon the development by recipient nations of expanded or new industries, or any attempt made to require restrictions on full and free economic development as the price of assistance. Provision should be made that the funds, made available with due regard for sovereignty, are not wasted by graft and inefficiency, and that the expenditures are subject to review by a UN authority to make sure that there is not such graft and inefficiency.

¶ The entire fund shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and no monies shall be available to finance the purchase of military supplies, armaments or war preparations.

¶ Finally, the German industrial heartland in the Ruhr Valley should be placed under international administration and control by the Big Four, in order, first, that its resources may be made available to aid in the reconstruction

of Europe and second, to guarantee that Germany shall never again be in a position to threaten the security of her neighbors or the peace of the world.

These are essentials for world peace. The greatest, richest, most powerful nation in the world can afford to take leadership on such constructive proposals. We must take leadership as well on a program of disarmament which will outlaw all mass methods of destruction and permit the efforts of workers and farmers the world over to be used in creating the abundance our resources, science and know-how make possible.

A sound, principled foreign policy is essential. It is not the whole story. The evidence of good faith which we must give in foreign affairs must be backed up with vigorous action here at home. I predict that unless our investments in foreign reconstruction are backed with sound domestic planning to control inflation, we shall witness a deadly resurgence of isolationism. The Greek, Turkish and Chinese programs have already created skepticism about the wisdom of foreign aid. Only a one-world policy of investment in peace can win continued support from the American people. A failure to protect the worker, farmer and consumer from the inflationary effects of huge appropriations for arms and unsound investments abroad will be tragic.

In addition to sound economic planning here at home, we must back a new foreign policy with demonstrations that when we speak of "democracy" we really mean it.

Jim Crow in all its forms must go.

The poll tax and restrictions to suffrage must go.

Civil liberties must be restored and protected.

The good name of American democracy must be strengthened. There is no room for continued feudalism in twentieth-century America. We must end Wall Street's colonial rule of the South and West.

These things are essential, not only to our national welfare, but to the cause of world peace.

[We do not fool the peoples of the world when we maintain undemocratic practices within our own borders. Wall Street men find it expedient to use the language of humanitarianism but the peoples of the world know their records. They know that these men have opposed every domestic proposal for the health, education, social security and general welfare at home. The war lords and money changers must be driven from their places of power if the good name of American democracy is to be preserved the world around. It is that course upon which we have embarked.]

Progressives by the millions voted for Franklin Roosevelt every time he ran for President. Conservatives and reactionaries from 1932 through 1944 voted for Republican presidential candidates. Until I announced for President, Americans who elected Franklin Roosevelt four times had no choice in 1948. We will never compromise with reaction. I call upon all progressive people in the United States—and you constitute the overwhelming majority of the American people—to work and vote for progress and peace in 1948 and at every election thereafter. I ask you to enlist for the duration of the war against privilege, against monopoly, against poverty. I ask you to join in the fight for peace. This is a great undertaking. Your first opportunity to stand up and be counted is 1948. We shall continue to fight as long as we live. We shall win.

The great hopes of the people here at home and throughout the world that the last war would begin a new era of progressive development are being dissipated by men who oppose progress and by those who compromise with the opponents of progress. During the war we said: "Strong in the faith of the Lord, we who fight in the people's cause will not stop fighting until that cause is won."

That cause has not yet been won. We are still fighting—we have, indeed, only started to fight.

Henry A. Wallace

EUROPE AND AMERICAN AID

The Truman-Congress version of the Marshall Plan will further US control more than continental recovery

by Victor Perlo and David Ramsey

LAST SEPTEMBER, 16 European nations, in response to the proposal made by Secretary Marshall, submitted a co-operative recovery program to the United States. The plan developed by the 16-nation Committee of European Economic Coöperation (CEEC) combined the continuation of emergency aid from the United States with large-scale shipments of industrial equipment and raw materials. The objectives of CEEC were to raise the production of Western Europe to new highs, to restore living standards approximately to prewar levels and to achieve substantial balance in international trade. CEEC's program was based on:

- 1. Industrial expansion and stable development of world trade.
- 2. Economic coöperation of all Europe.
- 3. German recovery subordinated to general European development.
- 4. Administration by Europe with advice only from the United States.

Three months later, President Truman sent Congress the official American draft of the Marshall Plan, now known as the European Recovery Program (ERP). This plan, now being considered by Congress, is fundamentally different from the proposals submitted by CEEC. The American blueprint discards the European objectives. It is not a program of European self-help by united effort, but is essentially a plan for the extension of American influence.

1. It is not directed toward industrial development and stable trade.

Victor Perlo, former economist with the US Treasury, the WPB, the OPA and the Commerce Department, has contributed to several books on economics and is now free-lancing.

David Ramsey is an economic consultant specializing in trade-union matters.

2. It does not encourage European economic coöperation.

3. It subordinates Western Europe economically to western Germany.

4. It imposes a large measure of American control on the internal economies of Western Europe.

I

THE principal economic problem of England, France and most of the other Western European countries is not repairing wartime damage to their industrial plants. While damaged and deteriorated equipment exists, the basic industrial plant is as large as, and in some countries is larger than, before the war. The real problem confronting Europe today, for the first time in many decades, is how to earn its own living. Before the war the living standards of England, France, Holland and Belgium were based to a considerable extent on income from overseas investments—speaking bluntly, on colonial loot. Now that source has been largely wiped out and cannot be re-tapped, despite the efforts of the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indo-China and the British in the Middle East.

To stabilize their economies and to raise their living standards, the countries of Western Europe must therefore vastly increase their industrial efficiency and production levels, and must find foreign markets for their expanded output. These necessities were recognized by CEEC in its report, and it asked the United States for large quantities of steel and industrial machinery to help Western Europe expand prewar electric-power capacity by about two-thirds, steel capacity by 20 percent and petroleum refining capacity by 150 percent.

The Marshall Plan (ERP) pays lip-service to these requirements, particu-

larly in President Truman's message. But the operating details of the program minimize Western Europe's reconstruction and recovery goals. In the Administration plan presented to Congress, and in various official and unofficial reports and statements, emphasis is placed on emergency food and coal shipments and not on developing an expanded and therefore independent European economy.

Senator Taft has opposed any large-scale assistance to Europe for industrial development. Governor Dewey has implied that if Europe needs more industry, then it should encourage American firms to establish branch plants. The temper of Congress on this crucial issue was clearly demonstrated during the Special Session by repeated statements urging the strict limitation of aid to the barest essentials. Senator Taft and like-minded congressional leaders will probably make every effort to eliminate what little recovery there now is in ERP—and the Administration is unlikely to resist.

Proof of this can be found in the State Department's detailed outline of the Marshall Plan, sent to Congress along with his message by President Truman. This report criticizes the Western European countries for having "laid out too ambitious plans for housing, industrial equipment and expansion, the development of utilities, and general reconstruction." The State Department claims that "too high a rate for capital formation contributes to austerity for consumers in Europe, makes it more difficult to expand exports, and is partly responsible for the widespread inflation."

But the facts are that capital formation since the end of the war has not been on a scale large enough to repair the war damage and deterioration, let alone expand basic industrial capacity; while export difficulties and inflation have been due mainly to shortages of critical materials rather than to over rapid capital investment.

Modest goal. Western Europe can and—to recover—must achieve a rate of capital investment equal, at least, to the 20 percent of total production

set by CEEC. This goal is essentially modest; in fact, it is probably on the low side and would require only a minimum of internal economic controls. Under more severe wartime restrictions, most combatant nations achieved the equivalent of investment ratios of 40 percent or more. Moreover, the Soviet Union carried out its intense prewar development program under more difficult conditions than those now facing Western Europe.

The theories of the Marshall Plan-ners on cutting the rate of Western European capital investment are applied by President Truman in the detailed American supply schedules, which strike the heart out of the CEEC recovery program. The United States offers about one-third of the crude steel requested by CEEC, none of the scrap, and less than one-half of the steel-mill equipment and farm machinery. In CEEC's plan, capital goods and steel-making materials account for 32 percent of the specified imports requested from the United States. But these are cut to 14 percent of the specified commodities to be furnished by the US in President Truman's version of the Marshall Plan. This includes shipments scheduled for financing by the International Bank, which is not slated for a major role in ERP.

Steel exports. American refusal to help restore European export markets is explicit in the case of steel. CEEC had urged shipment of sufficient scrap and crude steel—partly to restore the prewar flow of American materials which is now cut off—to permit production of three million tons of finished steel annually for export. If this request were met, Western Europe would receive about \$500 million a year from direct steel exports and would be able to recapture and maintain world markets for all the European durable goods allied to steel.

This request has been turned down by President Truman. The severe cuts in steel-making materials are justified by the Administration on the grounds of American shortages. However, the total CEEC request amounts to less than five percent of United States steel

production—not enough to cause serious difficulty here if an equitable domestic allocation system were established. The Administration's concern with domestic steel shortages is certainly inconsistent with the offer to furnish three times more finished steel than was requested. It is perfectly consistent, however, with the interests of American steel companies, which have taken over the prewar world markets of England, Germany and Belgium and are making windfall profits by charging foreign buyers two or three times the domestic price.

Throughout the official Marshall Plan, Europe's capital-goods and foreign-market needs are scuttled in favor of the profits and convenience of American big business. The American people are required to sacrifice through lower consumption and higher prices, but industry is not to sacrifice profits or a single world market or investment position.

Even before Congress passes on the Marshall Plan, the British and French have been forced to cut their capital-investment programs, particularly in housing, at the expense of the planned rate of improvement in living standards. If Western Europe accepts President Truman's program, the industrial development and modernization proposals outlined by CEEC will not be realized. The participants will find themselves increasingly dependent on food and fuel handouts, and restoration of prewar living standards will be postponed for a long time. As a matter of fact, the Marshall Plan explicitly projects lower consumption for Western Europe in 1952 than before the war. In other words, the European people are told that after going through six years of war, three years of relief, and now four years of ERP, they cannot hope to attain the conditions which prevailed in 1938.

II

ALONG with purporting to be a European recovery program, the Marshall Plan is supposed to promote European coöperation. But discussion of European coöperation is meaningless unless

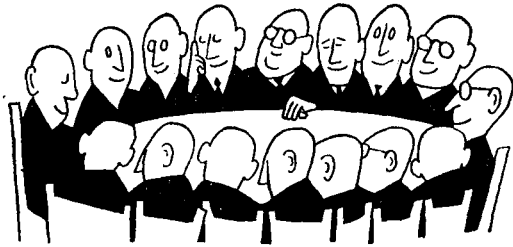
it is focused on the essential need for trade between East and West. Even under the most favorable circumstances, Western Europe cannot hope to achieve more than the restoration of prewar levels of trade with Latin America, Africa and Asia, its former principal markets. To realize the expansion of exports necessary to pay for decent living standards, Western Europe must turn to Eastern Europe as a key postwar market and raw-material supplier.

The need to expand East-West trade was emphasized by CEEC. In fact, the importance of this is a basic assumption underlying CEEC's program, although for obvious reasons the mechanics for achieving the necessary trade expansion were not developed. Work along these lines was begun before Secretary Marshall made his Harvard speech, and continues in the activity of the UN Economic Commission for Europe and other UN bodies. For example, a recent UN study finds that Western Europe can save \$70 million a year in lumber imports from North America, if the United States will supply \$5 million worth of specialized types of lumbering equipment, mainly to Eastern European countries.

American boycott. President Truman recognizes the desire of Western European countries to trade with Eastern Europe. He announces that the Administration's program is "based on the belief that over the next five years the normal pattern of trade between Eastern and Western Europe will be gradually restored." But this objective is being hindered by the tightening American economic boycott of Eastern Europe, an aspect of United States foreign policy which predates the Marshall Plan.

For example, a major assumption in the proposals of CEEC is an increase in Western European imports of coal from Poland to the point where expensive imports from the United States can be eliminated. A recent UN study shows that \$90 million of American funds for mining and transport equipment for Poland—which could be supplied only from the United States

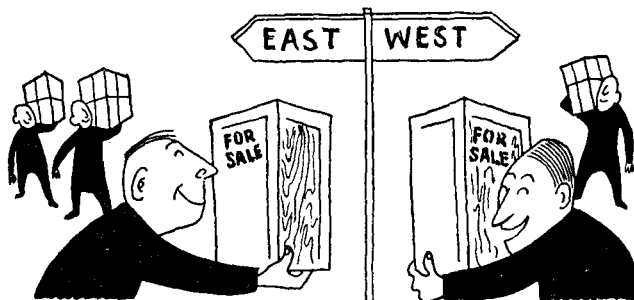
THERE ARE TWO MARSHALL PLANS!



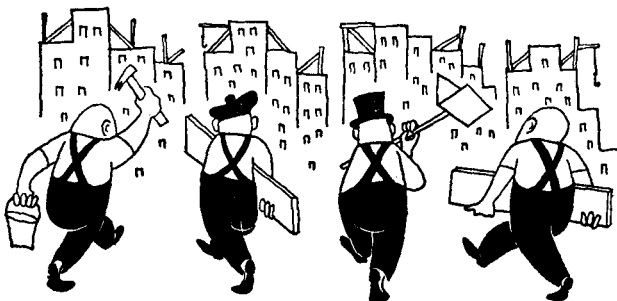
ONE: The original plan conceived by the 16 nation Committee of European Economic Cooperation . . .



CEEC wants Europe to stand on its own industrial feet...



CEEC wants Europe's countries to trade with each other...



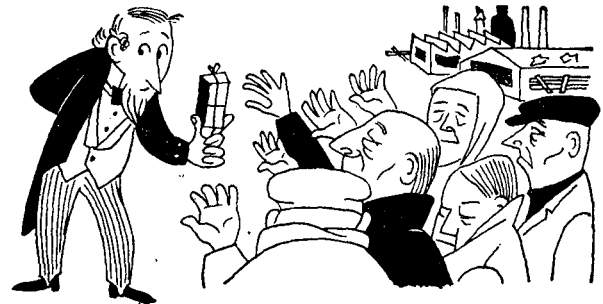
CEEC wants all countries to rebuild together . . .



CEEC wants participants to cooperatively settle their own economic programs . . .



TWO: The American version presented to Congress by President Truman . . .



U. S. keeps them begging for relief handouts . . .



U. S. anti-Communist policy would obstruct cooperative trade . . .



U. S. wants to fatten Germany first . . .



U. S. wants to hold all the strings . . .

RAY GORDON

DRAWING BY RAMON GORDON

—would increase coal supplies three times as much as similar expenditures in France and two times as much as in the Ruhr. This investment in the Polish mining industry would permit Western European countries to eliminate a current annual expenditure of \$500 million for American coal.

There is little hope that such credits will be extended. The fact is that, prior to the announcement of the Marshall Plan, repeated Eastern European credit requests were ignored or reduced to trivial dimensions, while during recent months statements by Secretary Harriman and other Administration spokesmen have made it clear that no credits will be granted to "totalitarian" countries. Poland still wants credits from the World Bank to increase her export coal surplus, but it is unlikely that top American officials in the Bank will approve such loans contrary to their government's policy.

President Truman's reference to the desirability of restoring the "normal trade pattern" between the East and West can be regarded as an effort to meet widespread European and American criticism that the United States intends to impose a Marshall Plan barrier between East-West trade. But Eastern Europe will oppose restoring "normal" trade patterns with the West, since before the war this involved economic control of the Eastern economies by Western capital, with a flow of raw materials from East to West without a complementary flow of industrialization equipment from West to East. Poland and the Balkan countries will not accept this kind of "normality" and will insist on expanding their industries and raising their living standards. Genuine European cooperation must be based on the reconstruction and expansion for their mutual betterment of both East and West, trading as economic equals.

III

IN PARTICULAR, Eastern Europe will resist efforts to restore German economic domination, such as prevailed under Hitler. Western European countries now fear that a Germany given

priority in reconstruction will this time subordinate them instead of Eastern Europe.

CEEC's report reflected this concern on the part of the participating countries. It took the position that German recovery should be subordinated to the general reconstruction of Europe, and urged the increased shipment of Ruhr coal to supply the expanded steel production of France and other Western countries. CEEC stressed the necessity of preventing the German economy from developing to "the detriment of other European countries, as it has done in the past." It stated that "Germany has the obligation . . . to furnish reparations and to assist the recovery of the countries victimized by her during the war."

German priority. Despite official denials—the latest by President Truman—the intent of the United States to give priority to German recovery is revealed in the development of American policy, in the attitude of the Harriman committee, in congressional and Administration statements, and now in the character of the proposed assistance to Germany. The lead given by Germany First advocates such as Herbert Hoover and Lewis H. Brown of the Johns-Manville Corporation is being followed with increasing fidelity by the Administration. Thus, on December 9, Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall stated to the Senate Appropriations Committee: "We are not trying merely to make western Germany supporting; we are called upon to make its potential industrial productivity the cornerstone of the European recovery program."

The contention of the Marshall Planners that the prosperity of Western Europe was based on the German economy is not borne out by the facts. England and France fought against fierce German competition and lost ground economically to Germany's aggressive drive for world markets. In 1938, Germany herself accounted for only four percent of British foreign trade and six percent of French foreign trade. The smaller Western countries had a larger volume of foreign trade

with Germany, but most of them also competed against Germany in world markets.

CEEC allotted western Germany 15 percent of the requested aid from the United States; only England and France had larger quotas. But the Harriman committee criticized this, stating that "the amount of aid allotted to Germany may have to be higher than was set at Paris." Now a report published recently by American Military Government officials indicates that the Marshall Plan estimates for western Germany are more than \$4.4 billion, or about 27 percent of the total cost of the program President Truman presented to Congress. In addition, indirect aid is being provided western Germany out of Army appropriations and surplus equipment. The shifting of requested aid from Allied countries to western Germany probably will put it in first place as a Marshall Plan recipient, especially in view of indications that assistance to England will be cut sharply.

Besides cutting down on the aid to be provided to the Western European countries, ERP will deprive them of German reparations which they desired to use for their recovery programs. To date, the Western countries have received insignificant reparations from Germany. Secretary of State Marshall's crackdown on reparations at the London Council of Foreign Ministers was a blow primarily against the Western countries, since they were to receive almost 75 percent of the reparations from western Germany. The program of reparations in capital goods from western Germany is all but stalled, and congressional pressure is increasing for its complete abandonment, a logical consequence of the stand taken by Marshall at London.

Reparations to Germany. In fact, Washington appears to be arranging Western European reparations to Germany. CEEC requested 103,000 American freight cars; some 90,000 of these were to go to countries whose cars had been stolen by the Nazis and which are still in Anglo-American occupation zones. The Marshall Plan, as

applied by the Military Government authorities, requires the Western countries to return German cars which they had seized as restitution for the cars which were stolen by the Nazis. And CEEC's request has been scaled down to 26,000 American cars, all for western Germany.

The main contribution western Germany can make to European recovery is the export of excess Ruhr coal, thus permitting realization of plans for the expansion of steel and general industrial production in France, Italy and the Netherlands. Before the war, Germany exported about 25 million tons of coal a year; current exports from the Ruhr are at an annual rate of about 10 million tons. Anglo-American Military Government officials expect coal exports to reach 24.3 million tons a year in 1952. Actually, current exports might be at the rate of 30 million tons a year, if press reports that 20 million tons of coal are now going into the German black market are accurate.

Military Government plans call for the full restoration of German coal production, but only 50 percent of pre-war steel output. This latter goal may not be reached for 10 years, according to Lewis H. Brown's report on Germany, made for the American Military Government. If his prediction is correct, this would leave a potential Ruhr coal surplus of about 50 million tons a year, or about double the present goal of the Anglo-American Military Governments.

However, Brown contends that all exports of German coal should be halted so that Germany can be restored as the "great converter nation of Europe." This Germany First policy will develop more openly, now that the United States has agreed to finance virtually the entire cost of the Anglo-American zones in return for a controlling voice in their economic affairs. The United States has thus "bought" majority control of the boards of directors of the German economic authorities and will dominate the western German economy. The facts of US policy furnish the most effective refutation of Administration denials that a major objective of the Marshall Plan

is to rebuild western Germany and restore its prewar economic dominance in Europe.

IV

AS ORIGINALLY presented by the Secretary of State, the Marshall Plan was to be exclusively a European enterprise, with the United States in the role of a sympathetic onlooker who would provide essential assistance but would studiously avoid interference in drafting the program. This approach was taken by many to be a change in the policy of the Administration, away from the Truman Doctrine and from the stringent conditions laid down in granting credits to England, France and Italy.

This appearance of benevolence was soon faced by the reality of American policy. Representatives of the United States openly intervened at the Paris Conference of the 16 participating nations and CEEC had to rewrite its original report completely. The requirement estimates were cut from \$29 to \$22 billion, and a whole series of "conditions" were written into the revised report, applying primarily to the internal finances of the participating countries.

This was followed by recommendations from big-business organizations, touring congressmen and Administration committees for stringent American controls over the European Recovery Program. The Interim Aid Act contains many of these, but the Marshall Plan sent by President Truman to Congress goes much further. It would bring outside intervention in the internal economic affairs of Europe on a scale and to a degree never before matched, except by occupying powers in conquered countries. Here are some of the key controls in the proposed economic-coöperation bill:

¶ Instead of a coöperative program for European recovery to be administered by an organization of the participating countries, the bill provides for a separate agreement by each country with the United States, and for an American Administrator who must approve each export, country by country and project by project, thus exercising

direct American control over a large part of Europe's foreign trade.

¶ A major part of the program—shipments of food, fuel and fertilizer—are to be covered by grants from the United States. Countries receiving such shipments must deposit amounts of their local currencies equal to the cost of what they receive. These accounts are to be set up under terms acceptable to, and are to be used only for purposes approved by, the United States. The huge blocks of local currencies coming under American control will give Washington decisive influence in the internal economies of the participating countries.

¶ To obtain assistance, each participating country must agree to follow American principles with respect to currency stabilization, rate of exchange, tariffs and foreign-trade controls. The position taken by the United States in negotiations with individual countries and in the conferences on the International Trade Organization, indicates that the whole weight of American pressure will be used to hamper nationalization of basic industries and to break down restrictions against unessential imports.

¶ The Administrator will promote with funds from the program the expansion of the production of strategic materials wanted by the United States for stockpiling purposes. It is hardly likely that the participating countries will be in a position to disagree with the Administrator if he insists that the production of key strategic materials must be increased. While the United States will pay for such materials, this provision in the bill means that the United States will be given access to strategic materials without regard to the welfare of the participating countries. Obviously, this control can be used to break into the few fields now dominated by European cartels, such as tin and rubber, and to promote an American world monopoly of strategic materials.

¶ A Chief Economic Coöperation Officer is to be stationed in each major participating country to supervise "spe-

cialized functions" of the program. Appropriately enough, the State Department points out that "in Greece, where a special United States aid mission already exists, these functions will be appropriately integrated."

The pressure of such controls will compel Europe to open its doors to Wall Street investments and American branch plants. The proposed economic coöperation bill specifically guarantees such projects for 14 years up to \$800 or \$850 million—five percent of the total cost of the program. But even more important, the exercise of economic controls by the United States is in itself a guarantee to American big business against European nationalization programs and against blocking the transmission of profits made in the participating countries.

Repaying profits. Thus the way will be cleared for American big business to proceed, as in the case of the petroleum industry, with plans to acquire control over key, and highly profitable, sectors of the Western European economy. If these programs are carried through, then Western Europe may find itself in the position of Latin American countries, which must use 40 to 50 percent of their exports simply to pay the profits of foreign capital. Payments to Wall Street on any such scale would bring about the permanent lowering of living standards in Western Europe and loss of its economic independence.

The Marshall Plan controls will be exercised unilaterally by the United States, since it can cut off aid to any participating country, that does not meet the conditions laid down by the Administrator or, in reality, by the State Department. President Truman in his report to Congress made this very clear when he said: "It [the program] represents a major segment of our foreign policy. Day in and day out, its operations will affect and be affected by foreign-policy judgments." With decisive American economic control exercised as an instrument of United States foreign policy, how much political independence can Western Europe retain?

A JUDGE DECLARES: Th

On December 9 the US Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, by a two-to-one decision, affirmed the conviction of Leon Josephson for refusal to testify before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities. The dissent, by Circuit Judge Charles E. Clark, is a beacon of sanity in the great tradition of the late Justice Holmes. Judge Clark found that the resolution authorizing establishment of the Dies-Rankin-Thomas Committee was in clear violation of constitutional safeguards; that congressional committees are not empowered in exercise of their investigating function to do what would be unconstitutional if done in exercise of the legislative function; that the Un-American Activities Committee has repeatedly violated this principle, misused its power and therefore subverted the Constitution; that continuation of these illegal acts must seriously jeopardize American liberties. The editors of the New Republic believe that this opinion may mark a turning point in the battle against the forces which now seek to debase and corrupt the American way. Excerpts from Judge Clark's brilliant and courageous dissent follow:

. . . If this [the activities of the Thomas committee] is legally permissible, it can be asserted dogmatically that investigation of private opinion is not really prohibited under the Bill of Rights. In other words, there will then have been discovered a blank spot in the protective covering of that venerated document. Judges and courts, presidents and executive departments, together with all the administrative agencies, must conform; and, indeed, so must the legislature when exercising its prime function of legislating.

Only when it refrains from carrying its activities to their constitutional climax, will it, and it alone, be exempt from respecting the most cherished of all our democratic privileges. I cannot accept such a consequence. . . .

. . . The precedents requiring judicial scrutiny of this legislative activity are beyond question. . . . In *Sinclair v. US* . . . and *McGrain v. Daugherty* [the court held] that neither House of Congress was invested with general power to inquire into private affairs and compel disclosures, but only with limited power of inquiry to carry out its constitutional function . . . [that] "while the power of inquiry is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative

function, it must be exerted with due regard for the rights of witnesses, and that a witness rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded or where the questions asked are not pertinent to the matter under inquiry."

. . . All attempts to explain the meaning of the key word "un-American" . . . have been avoided or opposed. . . . [The Thomas committee] has never made any secret of its strength and intent to use that strength to the utmost. . . . Its range of activities has covered all varieties of organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Federal Theater Project, consumers' organizations, various publications from the magazine *Time* to the *Daily Worker*, and varying forms and types of industry. . . .

While it has avoided specific definition of what it is seeking, it has repeatedly inquired as to membership in the Communist Party and in other organizations which it regards as Communist-controlled or affected. It has claimed for itself the functions of a grand jury to focus the spotlight of publicity on those it considers subversive, in order to drive them from their jobs in private and government

he Thomas Committee Subverts the Bill of Rights

employment and their offices in the trade unions. . . . No legislation has come from the committee itself. Its activities, however, are considered to have led to the legislation held unconstitutional as a bill of attainder in *US v. Lovett* (328 US 303).

. . . If we look to contemporary thought in the matter we find a like vagueness in the adjective [un-American]. Perhaps the nearest to concreteness is in the emphasis made by certain leading industrial organizations and others upon what they like to call the "American Way" or the "American theory of free enterprise." . . . As a matter of fact, the testimony at the recent movie investigation found the necessary un-American qualities for which the committee was searching in films which placed bankers in an unfavorable light or talked "against the free-enterprise system."

Further subdivisions of Public Law 601 introduce the concepts of subversive propaganda, *viz.* ". . . the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution." The word "subversive" here conveys no additional meaning. . . .

It cannot be that the advocacy of amendments urging change in the relation, for example, of the Executive and Congress, the subject recently of several popular books, is subversive. . . . After all, "subversive" means "tending to subvert," which means "to pervert or corrupt [one] by undermining his morals, allegiance, or faith" (Webster). But advocacy of a change in political thought is certainly an attempt to undermine the faith of the present. All of this points to and underlines the real vice of so vague and am-

biguous an authority when so determinedly marshaled against minority views.

It invites and justifies an attempt to enforce conformity of political thinking, to penalize the new and the original, to label as subversive or un-American the attempt to devise new approaches for the public welfare—in short to damn that very kind of initiative in experimentation which has made our democracy grow and flourish. . . .

I think we can say without reservation of any kind that, had legislation been actually formulated in the exact terms of the authorization quoted, its unconstitutionality would have been conceded. . . . True . . . Congress has a right to protect the safety of the state when that is endangered; and hence when words "are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils" against which Congress may legislate, they may be prohibited or penalized. . . .

Now, when this country is at peace it is hard to discern such circumstances of "clear and present danger." Indeed, the teaching of experience, after nearly three decades of a well-nigh pathological fear of "communism," under constant investigation by Congress . . . might suggest that there was more to be feared from the fear itself than from the supposed danger. . . .

It is of course true that Congress, not the courts, has the responsibility of determining the need and extent of legislation within constitutional limits. And since it may forbid propaganda of dangerous proportions when it chooses, it obviously may investigate the need of such prohibition. But when it attacks not merely dangerous propaganda, but in effect all argumentation departing from the

norm, there is no justification for the wide reaches of its claim to authority. In truth, it seems not a matter of great difficulty to provide for an investigation of proper scope which would impress all as being constitutionally justified. . . .

An argument much stressed is that, since there is an area of legal activity for the committee within the constitutional limitations, therefore the investigation as a whole is to be supported, and only illegal activities rejected. Passing the practical impossibility of then isolating anything as beyond the permitted investigatory scope, such a view is logically indefensible in the light of constitutional principles. Of course it is only the *going beyond* the constitutional limitation which ever renders legislative acts improper. . . . But the excess is the important question here. . . . The committee announces its desire that the persons it finds guilty shall forfeit their jobs in public and private industry and shall be subject to prosecution for any collateral crimes which may have been disclosed, and generally shall be exposed pitilessly to public condemnation. That it is successful in its purpose the daily papers show. There can be no doubt of the obvious and direct abridgment of the right freely to speak and express one's opinions which is thus achieved.

The right of congressional investigation has been so important . . . that no one would wish to hamper it improperly. . . . But in the . . . field of constitutional liberties, more control is desirable. For the extreme power thus wielded carries the seeds of its own ruin if not constitutionally exercised. . . . For a widespread belief that the committee is acting in an un-American way to even an American end will destroy the committee's usefulness in the eyes of "a liberty-loving people."

NORWAY'S SOLUTION

By planning for abundance and freedom, a vigorous Labor Government has licked the Communist "menace" **by Philip Singer and Gilbert Cranberg**

OSLO (by airmail)

NORWAY'S Communists today are rapidly depleting their party funds in an all-out effort to raise their prestige and lower the Norwegian Labor Government's influence with the people. The Communists are currently trying to buy up every piece of newspaper equipment they can get their hands on. But even if in the coming months their press expansion should grow to King Feature-size proportions, it is doubtful that they will be able to win enough popular support to constitute a threat to Norway's present government. For Norway has met and solved her Communist problem.

In this land of three million people who share a common border with Russia, there is no fear of any "stalking spectre." The European stalk has been reduced to a limp in Norway. The Norwegian achievement provides one answer to the question of how best to counter the spread of communism.

Norway's Communist Party started its 1945 postwar political life as a major factor on the Norwegian scene. The Communists' aggressive underground work during the war had won them national recognition. Then, too, the Russians were the first Allied troops on Norwegian soil, and therefore the first to take part in the rout and roundup of Germans.

Prior to the first postwar election, in October, 1945, there had been negotiations between Communist and Labor Parties aimed at amalgamation. In the concentration camps, Norwegian Communists and Laborites, among them the present Prime Minister, Einar Gerhardsen, thought they saw the futility

of two working-class parties being bitter rivals for the working-class vote. A merger was planned, but at the last moment, the Norwegian Communists broke off negotiations. Another attempt at unification failed late last spring. (Though the thought of total merger between Communist and Socialist Parties may appear heretical to American Socialists, it must be remembered that the Norwegian Labor Party was the only non-Communist member of the Third International, and that many of its present members are former Communists.)

Another Lie. Prominent among the Labor Party objectors to the proposed "unity" was Haakon Lie (no relation to Trygve), secretary of the Labor Party, who has been called by some the David Dubinsky of the Norwegian labor movement.

"There was much confusion in 1945," Lie told us in his cluttered and busy office recently. "Concentration-camp people came out and decided upon a common program with the Communist Party. They wanted unity between the Labor Party and the Communist Party. I said 'No! The Communists just want to split us'."

When the showdown came at the national elections in 1945, the Communists, largely on the basis of their war record, amassed 167,000 votes. Under the Norwegian proportional-representation system they were awarded 11 of the 150 seats in Parliament. In the last prewar election, the Communists had been unable to muster enough votes to elect any of their candidates.

But even more significant than the Communist surge was the showing of the Norwegian Labor Party. Pledged to a Socialist program, it won 76 seats, to give Norway a clear-cut majority

government—her first in more than a quarter of a century.

Secure in its parliamentary advantage, the Labor Party vigorously went about the business of governing. It instituted price and rent controls, decreed rationed items, set import and export restrictions, started a program of reconstruction in the devastated northern areas, initiated new state-controlled industries and planned for the future.

The industrial-production index is now 130 percent, based on the prewar 1938 level of 100—higher than in most other European countries. There are no black markets, and the only severe shortage is housing.

With a Labor Government in power, and the major cause of labor dissatisfaction—rising prices—under control, strikes are rare. One of the few strikes occurred recently on the municipally owned street-railway system: conductors, already harassed by inadequate facilities, objected to an order calling upon them to be more polite.

The quislings. The same Labor Government has been equally careful to protect civil liberties. To Norwegians, personal freedom—whether it be the right to balk at a directive, or the right guaranteed them by their constitution to "make frank statements concerning the authorities of the state or any other object"—is precious.

Recognition of this deep appreciation for individual rights can be seen in the way the Labor Government is conducting the trials against Norway's quislings. There were estimated to be 60,000 of these people—two percent of the entire population—at the end of the war. Every one of these 60,000 will get a defense and judgment under Norwegian due process of law.

The Labor Government has been able to increase both the economic well-being and the personal freedom of the average Norwegian without compromising with the Communists. No member of the General Council of the Trade Unions belongs to the CP. Speaking for its membership of 400,000, the General Confederation of Trade Unions has said:

"There is a split in the labor move-

Philip Singer, former wire editor for the Mid-Pacific edition of Stars and Stripes, spent five months last year in Norway.

Gilbert Cranberg, a wartime contributor to Army Information booklets, is now in Europe as a free-lance correspondent.

ment in Norway, as in many other countries. . . . The struggle between the two parties [Communist, Labor] has been bitter. . . . The political situation and the position of the trade unions is a simple and a clear one. We have a Labor Government with a majority in Parliament and among the people. Behind the government is a unified, disciplined and strong trade-union movement."

Similarly, Labor Party leadership is cognizant of Communist influence, wary of it, and realistic in its approach to it. It has taken a leaf from the Communists' book of tactics, and by utilizing the cry of "unity" of the working classes has succeeded in nullifying a good deal of Communist opposition in unions. "We make very strong appeals for 'unity' to get the workers' support away from the Communists," Haakon Lie told us during our interview.

Just another party. The Labor Party has stolen the Communists' economic and political thunder, and the Communists are losing out in the fight for working-class support.

The recent October municipal elections emphasized this decline. Marked by a record vote, the results showed continued support for the Labor Government and left the Communists as the only political party unable even to match its 1945 total vote.

Attributing its setback primarily to a paucity of Communist newspapers in

which its case could be argued, Communist leadership also frankly admits to other shortcomings. In the Communist Party caucus room of the Parliament in Oslo, Jorgen Vogt, Communist MP, told us why he thought his party had lost so heavily in Bergen (Norway's second-largest city).

"Our municipal work there had not been good," he said. "The Communist members of the City Council didn't make the issues clear. Our proposals on matters like taxation were not well presented to the people. The housing shortage is bad in Bergen and the party there was defending the reason for no houses, instead of being on the offensive."

Unlike an America gripped with hysteria over Russia and the Communist Party, Norwegians who may be bitterly opposed to Communist doctrine nevertheless retain a sane attitude and regard their Communist Party as simply another manifestation of Norwegian political life. It is considered neither a menace nor un-Norwegian. Its influence is measured by the same yardstick as is that of any other party—program, appeal and success at the polls. In the party's sympathy for and orientation toward Russia, nothing sinister or treasonable is found.

Tall, slightly bald, 47-year-old Emil Lovlien, chairman of the Communist Party and its representative in Parliament, likes to say:

"We are an independent party and

a completely Norwegian party. We are not orthodox followers of Marx. The situation is different in each country, and each land must go its own way toward socialism. In Norway it is possible to achieve socialism without revolution, and we should follow a program fit for Norway."

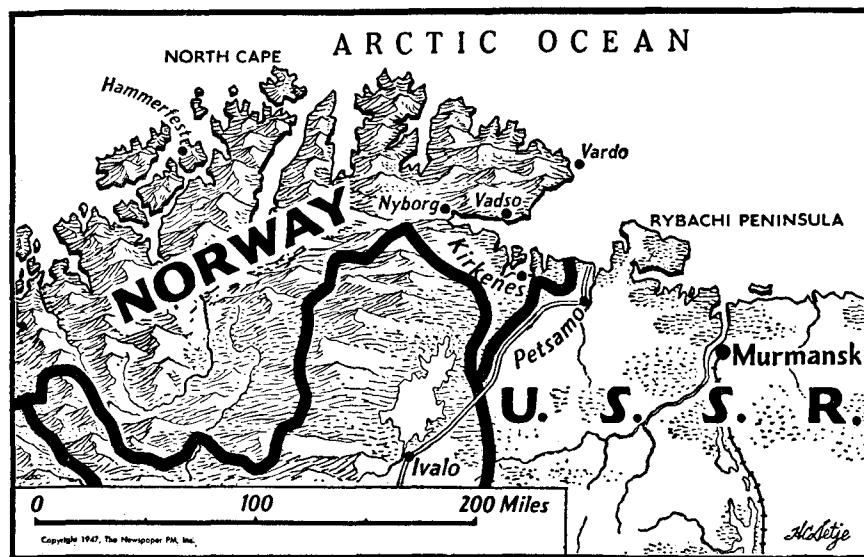
In the event of war between the United States and Russia, Lovlien told us, the Communist Party would fight the country that first set foot in Norway. "If Russia invaded first, we would fight Russia," he said. "We are working for the freedom of Norway."

The US is confusing. Almost all Norwegians are concerned over the anti-Red hysteria in America. They recognize political power as it is manifested by popular following and are unable to understand why an insignificant minority party can stir up the wrath of such a powerful nation.

Immaculately dressed Rolf Stranger, factory owner, Conservative MP, former mayor of Oslo and present chairman of the Conservative Party in Oslo, said: "How could we discharge a person from his job for his Communist or Socialist beliefs?" When we remarked that such a statement made in the States might easily cause him to be labeled a fellow traveler, Stranger looked sharply at us and in a genuinely incredulous, almost plaintive tone, said: "I don't understand. I am considered a very, very conservative man in Norway."

Carelessly attired Torolf Elster, editor of the monthly Socialist magazine *Kontakt*, who is Stranger's opposite number ideologically as well as sartorially, agrees with him on the subject of individual rights: "Most people here don't understand the American attitude toward Communists. We have a much stronger Communist Party than you, but no hysteria," he said.

The Norwegian Labor Government has clearly demonstrated that along with the increasingly manifold controls necessary in a planned economy, it is possible to maintain civil liberties. Popular support for this double-edged policy explains the broad base of Norway's Labor Government and the country's rejection of communism.

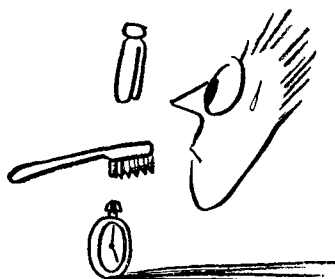


I TAKE OFF MY STETSON

*Kenyon and Eckhardt, ad men extraordinary,
plan a national campaign to put "tensed up" Americans
under ten-gallon hats*

by Thomas Whiteside

MANY are the ways in which the American public, haunted as it is by Pink Toothbrush, Clothespin Nose, Five O'Clock Shadow and other afflictions, will find relaxation and release during the coming year. But for ingenuity, simplicity and democratic consciousness, few can equal the system of liberation from nervous fatigue advo-



cated from within the elegant Park Avenue advertising offices of Kenyon and Eckhardt, a few cab ticks away from the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City.

It is the belief of Kenyon and Eckhardt that the public is too tensed up. It plans to relieve that tension merely by persuading everybody to wear ten-gallon hats. The hats, according to Kenyon and Eckhardt, instil into their wearers a sense of calm, aplomb, casualness and keenness.

To help the American public achieve a shaded, inner peace, Kenyon and Eckhardt has launched a campaign which, like Western hats, is of astonishing scope and size. In this endeavor it has the complete backing of the John B. Stetson Company, makers of hats. As a result, it is confidently predicted that next year Americans will be unable to switch on their radios, peruse newspapers or magazines or even walk down the street without having the phrase "Stetson Western" seared like a red-hot brand into their minds.

To protect the American brain from

without, Kenyon and Eckhardt must assault it from within. Its plans of attack, in wealth of detail comparable to those drawn up for invasions of far-off lands, lie ready in Kenyon and Eckhardt's chart rooms. Only the starting signal stands between the average citizen and an overwhelming bombardment of flying fur felt. Kenyon and Eckhardt itself is brimming with confidence.

The compulsion to put everybody in hats like giant mushrooms had its direct origins in a trend spotted by the Stetson Company last year. More broadly, it may be connected with the sad decline of hat-wearing during the past 40 years and it is a corollary growth of what the hat industry calls, almost as an epithet, "hatlessness." In 1909, as hat statisticians have sharply pointed out, the average adult male in the United States annually bought nearly a hat and a half. By 1940 he bought less than half a hat a year, and, according to the hat industry, displayed "discouraging attitudes about hat-wearing."

Kenyon and Eckhardt's war on the American scalp is hoped to improve these lamentable statistics, not merely because a ten-gallon hat is a hat and a half in itself, but because it is something new. The immediate breach in the front of hatlessness occurred last year on the West Coast. "It started in California," said a Kenyon and Eckhardt executive. "People were going to

dude ranches and buying Western clothes. Postwar stuff. People are wealthier. Also, they like to putter around in gardens—big back-to-the-soil movement. Last year, Stetson found that orders were flooding in for Western hats. Stetson sells quite a few Westerns out West, of course, but lately they'd toned their Western hat business down and turned instead to a regular men's line. All of a sudden they had to cope with this upsurge in the West. Pretty soon it began spreading East. Upsurges everywhere! The people were getting authentic!"

In the interests of authenticity, Kenyon and Eckhardt immediately threw itself headlong into this interstate migration. Around the agency, interest in Western hats overshadowed even the promotion of the Gy-Rocket, a Kellogg PEP premium consisting of a small projectile with a launching platform based "on the hitherto undisclosed plans of the V-2 guided missile."



"We'll take this trend," an agency executive remarked happily, "and build it up into a big oak tree. Maybe it could be a terrific boost in the over-all hat business." A few minutes later he revised his opinion even further upwards. "It's more than a trend," he said enthusiastically. "It's a definite business development."

Descending once more to oak-tree level, the executive plunged into a bulky file and emerged with some details relating to the Stetson campaign. The cost of the ten-gallon drive, he said, will run between \$75,000 and \$100,000, most of which will go for advertisements in popular magazines. "We'll start off with a big color spread in *Life*," he explained. "That'll cost \$25,000 alone."

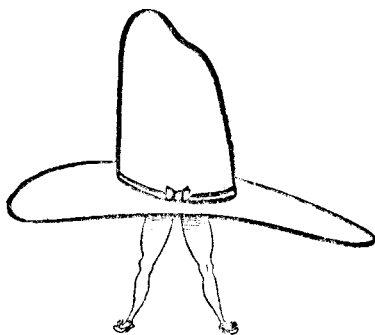


This advertisement, which shows numerous manly gentlemen fitted with Western hats standing around a chuck wagon, is expected to give the entire campaign what the executive termed "a terrific kick in the pants." What was the budget for the publicity department? "Our idea is to spend as little as possible. You can say the publicity budget is nominal," said the executive. "Too damn nominal," he added thoughtfully.

Naturally! The system, apparently, is to rely heavily on the generosity of the American press and radio. "Think of the possibilities for free publicity!" said the executive. "Editors are used to calling a Western hat a Stetson. You can get the name into jokes, everything. What's a bad picture? A Stetson picture! You pick up your Stetson and walk out!"

As a starter, Hal Davis, chief of publicity, sent letters to motion-picture companies and to 1,200 radio stations. "Greetings, neighbor," the message began, in friendly Western fashion. "Maybe you've already heard the news. If not, here it is—Stetson's going Western. . . . Grand name of hat industry . . . whopping drive. . . . We know your Western artists wear a Stetson—and maybe some of the more sophisticated entertainers on your staff wear ditto. We'll promote them if you send us an 8x10 photograph of the artist wearing his or her Stetson."

Many were the replies to this cooperative gesture. "I believe," wrote a movie executive from Los Angeles, "I really have a natural for you. On November 28 we go into production on a high-budgeted picture, 'The Tenderfoot,' which will be loaded with Stetsons . . . wherein lies the opportunity for an outstanding campaign for you and your client. . . ."



"Dear Hal," wrote a Mr. Gross, "Enclosed herewith a photo of Freddy Bartholomew, who is quite old enough to wear a Stetson now." Among radio artists, Davis' letter was to stir up tremendous enthusiasm all the way from Uncle Tex, a Carbondale, Illinois, artist who, according to his letterhead, is always available for "private dates, pie suppers, picnics, banquets, open-air parties and jamborees," to Cowboy Heck, "the second-highest mail-puller" on KEX, Portland, Oregon.

All expressed the keenest desire to be promoted by Kenyon and Eckhardt, and many quickly demonstrated their good faith in the project by asking for free Stetsons. Such paltry sacrifices are routine to Kenyon and Eckhardt. One of its agents has just returned from Miami Beach where he generously disbursed ten-gallon hats to protect young ladies from the semitropical heat. His simple act of good will was entered in Kenyon and Eckhardt's books as "tieup with publicity director of Knitted Outerwear Foundation" (otherwise known as the sweater industry). "The girls are wearing turtleneck sweaters with bronco motifs on their breasts; shorts or bathing suits and ten-gallon hats," remarked the agent proudly. The ladies, of course, are being widely photographed by the press.

In the realm of motion pictures, the imaginative Mr. Davis has lately conjured up a series of historical exhibits, consisting of "replicas" of Stetson hats worn by bad men in American history. Such exhibits will be reverently placed outside theaters specializing in Westerns.

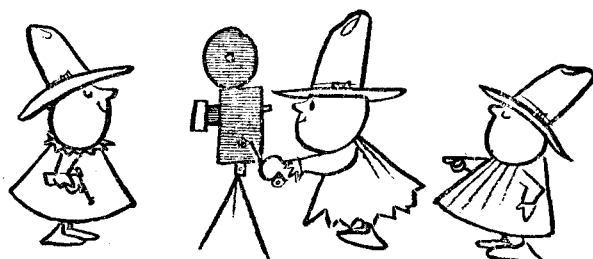
To keep in step with the march of progress, Davis will also arrange for theater patrons to participate in Stetson-hat contests. The theatergoing public will wear Stetson Western hats. The theater manager will give prizes for what he considers the best. The prize, presumably, will be yet another Stetson Western.

Rodeos offer tremendous possibilities. "Roy Rogers' guy just called up," said Davis. "He's going around with a rodeo. It'll be a cinch to build up a couple of windows for him in local Stetson stores, then have Rogers plug away for Stetson every time he appears in public. We hope to do the same thing with Gene Autry."

The music-publishing field is not being overlooked. Kenyon and Eckhardt's musicologists circularized the industry for songs containing any reference to Stetsons. One scout quickly reported that the song "Don't Come



to My House If You Don't Come from Texas" contained the following line: "Don't ring my doorbell if you don't wear a Stetson." Kenyon and Eckhardt will see to it that this deserving ballad is integrated into American folklore far and wide. Davis has also made it known that he intends to have a chat with the Leeds Music Corporation, following the receipt of a letter from that firm saying it



DRAWINGS BY OSBORN

had had "a very extensive promotion plan on a song called 'Johnny Fedora and Alice Blue Bonnet' in which the Hat Research Foundation participated."

(The Hat Research Foundation, a living refutation of the canard circulated by Lewis Carroll about the emotional unbalance of hatters, combats "the extent and causes of hatlessness" and declares that doctors recommend hats for health, thereby implying that hatless people are unhealthy.)

One of Davis' best finds was his unearthing of a song called "Ten Gallon Stetson," which contains this heartening passage:

I wuz rootin' thru the at-tic
A-bout a week 'er so
An' I came a-crost a rel-ic
Of the long long years a-go . . .
Just a ten gal-lon Stetson
With a hole in the crown. . . .

It is Davis' intention to have this lyric recorded (Petrillo willing) by one of the biggest bands in the coun-

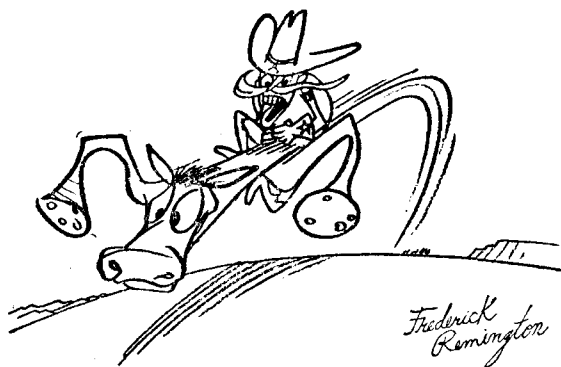


try. It will be properly jazzed up and converted into one of the nation's most popular songs.

Meanwhile Davis is working on an interesting project in connection with Igor Stravinsky, the composer. It is understood that Stravinsky is working on a swing version of a Western song. Davis is exerting great pressure on the Leeds Music Corporation to have the word "Stetson" inserted in the lyrics.

Book publishers are another group amenable to Stetson overtones. J. B. Lippincott is glad to have Kenyon and Eckhardt publicize Harold McCracken's book, *Frederick Remington: Art-*

¹ Reprinted by permission of Cowboy Records, Inc.



ist of the Old West. To Kenyon and Eckhardt, the idea is a promising one, since nearly all of Remington's people, are shown with Stetsons, many bullet-ridden. As the promotion continues, book and music-store windows will become jammed with Stetsons. The only problem is that, conversely, Stetson hat-store windows will be piled with record albums, books, song sheets, movie ads and pictures of famous persons all wearing ten-gallon hats. "Lucius Beebe kept his top hat on at the Met," mused Davis. "Maybe we could get him to wear a Stetson."

Other columnists will be invited to introduce a new variant in their terminology of praise. They will be asked to change such complimentary phrases as "Orchids" and "I take off my hat" to the more elegant "I doff my Stetson." And by the same token, presidential aspirants will be represented as tossing into the ring not mere hats, but Stetson hats. Whether Kenyon and Eckhardt will reciprocally promote the makers of such American gestures is not known, but the potentialities of this type of leadership coöperation are said to be enormous. Whatever the outcome of the elections, Kenyon and Eckhardt will not be the loser. Steps are being taken to assure election bets being paid off in Stetson Westerns. As a K and E man remarked, "The scope is terrific."

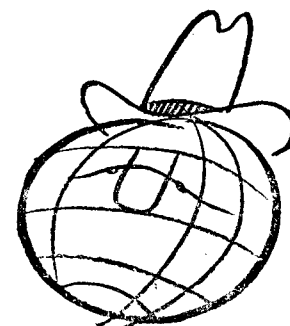
In conformity with the slogan of the Hat Research Foundation, "Somebodies Wear Hats, Nobodies Don't," Kenyon and Eckhardt will invite the masses to integrate themselves into the elite by the simple expedient of wearing Stetson Westerns. In Davis' opinion, this is a sound policy. Only the other day, he remarked, he had been approached by a public-relations man

who wanted to work an Angle on the Stetson campaign. What constituted the Angle was not stated. The fellow, however, wore a ten-gallon Stetson. "The hat helped him get hotel rooms in Washington," said Davis. "When he got on a train, the railroad guys gave him special consideration. They thought he was a big Texas oil man."

Bigness may be the over-all objective, yet no detail is too small. "I just wrote all the women's magazines," said a young-lady assistant at Kenyon and Eckhardt. "We'll get them to put the men models in ten-gallon Stetsons. But, my, we just missed a big chance in *Holiday's* issue on Arizona. All the men were wearing George Bailey hats."

Kenyon and Eckhardt has its dark days. At the moment, it is not happy about a hockey team named the Rangers. It seems that Davis had contrived with Win Elliot, a television sportscaster, to have the Rangers photographed in Madison Square Garden in Stetson hats. "The very day we take the pictures," said Davis, "what happens? CBS television signs up with Knox hats to sponsor hockey games!"

Such drawbacks do little to discourage Kenyon and Eckhardt's account executives. They have the law of probabilities on their side. K and E's publicity director may not wear a Stetson Western—his modest personality shrinks from undue display—but a large part of the general public will succumb. Public health demands it, for only in Stetsons can the population relax. "Hatlessness," remarked a Kenyon and Eckhardt executive gravely, "is a very dangerous disease."



BOOKS IN REVIEW

REPORTS ON A WAR

by William Harlan Hale

WAR, among other things, is a huge writing project, and it is significant that US officers' field uniforms have special pocket compartments reserved for pencils and that typewriters are indispensable to invasions.

From the front-line GI who keeps a scribbled war diary to the high echelon that keeps one too (and has it smartly written and well bound), the impulse is the same: to immortalize the moment and account for one's place in it. In wartime, as at any other time, you write about what you see—except that in wartime you write more and see less. You can't see the opposing side, for instance. You can't even see all of your own side. In your uncertainty you cling to what is nearest, which looks inordinately large. You need to protect and magnify an ego that is constantly being threatened by extinction or ignominy. Amid war's obsession with survival and the guilt of failure, you say of your own case or that of your immediate outfit: It had better be good!

Good or not, you make it good, which is the problem that underlies the reminiscent literature of war. Cases are stated not so much against the defeated enemy, who probably won't talk back for a while anyhow, as against the surviving neighbor or rival, who might get in there first with his story. Thus military history has a way of giving priority to polemics: its first victims are one's allies, and its second are one's former compatriot friends.

Beginnings. To collect and objectively interpret a given war's evidence and lessons is the work of generations. The task is still far from complete on World War I. It has only begun on World War II. But just as last time, when chroniclers on both sides began, even before the shooting had stopped, to fight one another intramurally over such issues as the conduct of the Battles of Jutland and the

Marne, this time the post-mortem began early when Ralph Ingersoll, a partisan of General Omar Bradley, in *Top Secret* berated his chief's opposite number, Field Marshal Montgomery.

Since then the feud has spread: the RAF's Marshal Sir Arthur Harris has given the US Air Forces a brush-off in his *Bomber Offensive* (Macmillan; \$2.75); General George S. Patton Jr., in *War As I Knew It* (Houghton Mifflin; \$3.75), has laid into no less a personage than General Eisenhower; and Admiral William F. Halsey, in *Admiral Halsey's Story* (Whittlesey House; \$4), has refought the controversial battle of Leyte Gulf to his own advantage and against that of Admiral Kinkaid, the fellow commander whom some critics accuse him of having left in the lurch.

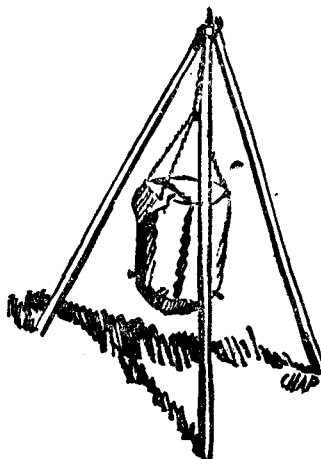
What tends to raise the pitch of the present inter-Allied historical free-for-all is the fact that this time, for once, the defeated enemy leaders cannot get their own side of the story into print. That is, not unless we permit it. The survivors among them are writing, to be sure—but the Germans, who always write the most, are doing so as our official guests. And since the threat of being accused of war crimes hangs

over them all, they are for once writing their stories very cautiously, more interested at the moment in winning a clean bill of health than in setting forth a grandiose record for posterity.

From the other side. The first effort in this direction was produced by Hitler's ruthless U-boat strategist, Admiral Karl Dönitz, who prepared an apologetic *Essay on the War at Sea* for Allied archives on the eve of his indictment as a major war criminal. Today Colonel General Franz Halder, the chief of staff who drew up the over-all plans for Hitler's invasions of Poland and Western Europe and who later fell out with his boss, is heading up a team of German brass who are busy setting their records straight for the US Army's historical division. Of these perhaps the most redoubtable is Lieutenant General Fritz Bayerlein, whose report on how he repeatedly rallied his crack "Panzer Lehr" Division after American G-2's had repeatedly written it off as "destroyed," has made him pretty much of a hero to our professional soldiers—but not to our G-2's.

Whether the Russians, for their part, have set their own stable of captive German chieftains to similar literary tasks, Moscow does not say. But the grapevine persists in reporting that Field Marshal von Paulus' group of allegedly converted officers are producing a collective history tailored to Soviet desires.

The stories of the Japanese military chiefs have been taken down by fast-working organizations like the US Strategic Bombing Survey, and that outfit's Naval Analysis Division has done a notable job in its *Interrogations of Japanese Officials and Campaigns of the Pacific War*. Some of this material, in turn, has found its way into James A. Field Jr.'s *The*



Japanese at Leyte Gulf: The Sho Operation (Princeton; \$2.50), which stands out as a model attempt to penetrate and record the thinking and acting of an enemy without recourse to bombast, bias or hindsight.

This side. Turning back to our own side, the War Department has only begun to pull together the vast materials for its multi-volume *History of the US of World War II*, while the Navy's semi-official historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, has so far published only two of the projected 14 volumes of his *History of US Naval Operations in World War II*. But enough individual commanders, proud unit historians and unofficial aficionados have already produced books on their own to give a vivid picture of

our major campaigns, if at times a narrow and somewhat cockeyed one.

It was to be expected that General Patton and Admiral Halsey, our fastest ground-gainers in wartime, should also be the first American heroes to strike between the book-covers in peacetime. They were alike in their bluster, aggressiveness and hard-bitten appeal; but of the two, the raucous Patton turns out to have been surprisingly literate (he read, for example, Freeman's *Norman Conquest* as a preparation for Operation Overlord), while the genial Halsey turns out to have been surprisingly simple. (He seems, for instance, to have taken at face value all the reports his carrier pilots gave him of the damage they had inflicted, allowing for no margin of exaggeration or error.)

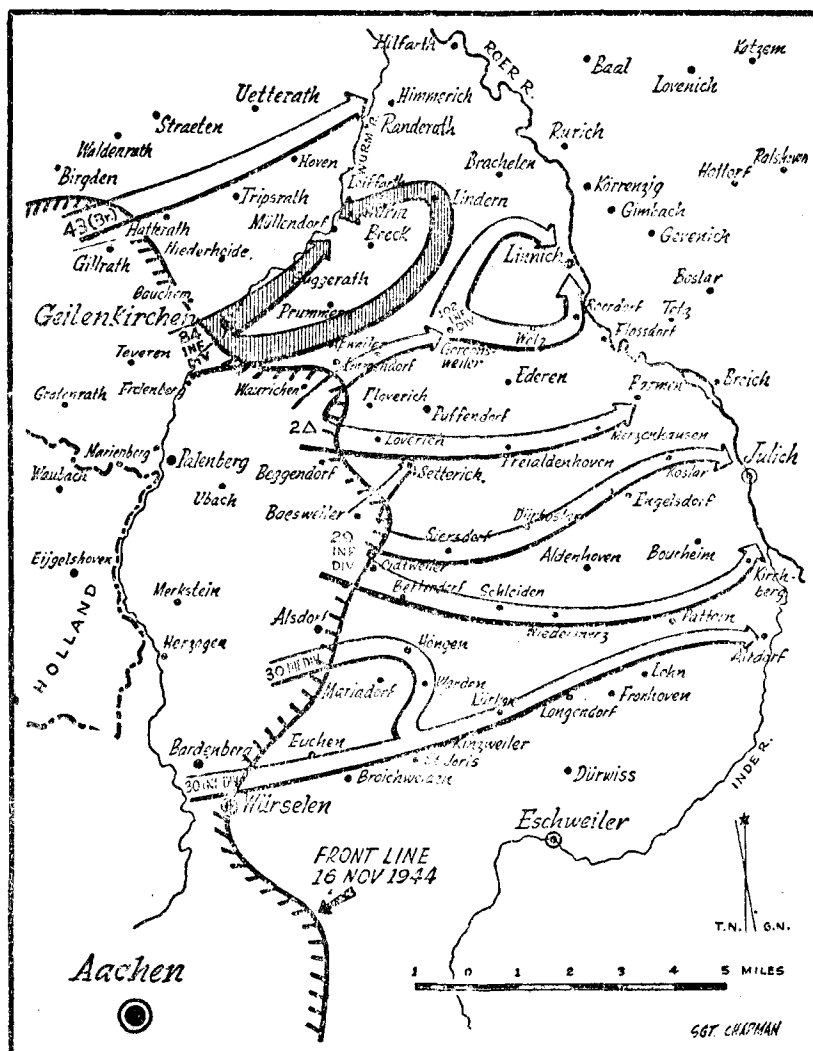
Both Patton and Halsey were insurgent, electric leaders of men, but their books reveal that beneath their winning cocksureness there lay a nervous tension that in Patton's case, especially, often bordered on hysteria. Both were great in so far as they were rebellious. Their danger came when they seemed to rebel just for the sake of rebelling.

In Halsey's case this happened only once—but many critics hold that it led us to the brink of a disaster from which only Japanese muddling saved us. In his hearty, salt-caked *Story* the Admiral breezily defends his decision to strike with almost all our greatest ships at the remotest of three Japanese fleets converging upon our Philippine invasion area in Leyte Gulf, thus leaving our vital beachheads unprotected, save for Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid's thin, depleted force.

What Halsey leaves out is the point that his own assignment pretty clearly was to cover those beachheads before he went roaming the far seas. Or maybe this wasn't quite clear to him. After all, the beachheads were General MacArthur's, who wasn't his boss; and why in hell should the Navy's Halsey work for him?

Gentle George. In Patton's case rebellion became a high military art, and he used it both as a strategy against the Germans and as a tactic against his inveterate enemies at SHAEF. Throwing academic principles overboard, he told his staff on the eve of Third US Army's great mid-August dash through France to "forget this goddamned business about worrying about our flanks. We don't want any of that goddamned crap in this Army. Flanks are something for the enemy to worry about. Not us."

But while he thereby became the terror of the German High Command, his memoirs show that he also prided himself on becoming the saboteur of our own. The "sneak offensives," which he repeatedly pulled, surprised the Germans, but no more so than they did his own superiors. ("I was trying to keep the impending Bitburg offensive a secret," he remarks on one



OPERATION CLIPPER

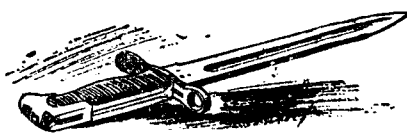
of these occasions, "so it would not be stopped from above.")

Now, why should anyone above Patton have wanted to stop him? Therewith we enter the polemical field in earnest—a battle made more bitter because of fast-flying charges that the restraining villains were either jealous British or else American conciliators of the British. The origin of the row was Patton's conviction (shared to some degree by his immediate superior, Bradley) that, having collapsed the German front in France by his spectacular August end-run, nothing remained between him and a winning dash to the goalpost of Berlin—nothing, that is, except a thin line of generals at SHAEF.

"It was evident at this time," he wrote of the battle situation in late August, "that there was no real threat against us so long as we did not allow ourselves to be stopped by imaginary enemies." But SHAEF didn't think our enemies were imaginary. The scores of thousands of German prisoners corralled during the sweep across France turned out on inspection to be chiefly second-grade and support troops, rather than members of Hitler's crack formations, and it soon became clear that most of the latter had not really been blasted but had staged a planned withdrawal toward the Rhine.

Accordingly, SHAEF refused to give in to Patton's demand that all available supplies and reserves be diverted to him from neighboring Allied armies and that he be given a green light to plunge ahead alone. Although Patton himself had partly bypassed the main weight of the German armor, it still existed in great strength in front of his neighbor armies, and SHAEF felt that the war would not be won until these armies came to final grips with it. The turndown that he got, says Patton, "was the momentous error of the war."

Near chaos. SHAEF's unwillingness to concede that the only front was Patton's was matched by Patton's unwillingness to concede that any army other than his own was worth a damn. This



self-confidence, when turned against the hosts of Rundstedt, sparked Patton's men and drove them to feats perhaps unequaled in our military history. But when turned against his neighbors, it went beyond healthy rivalry and often made for near chaos.

Patton relates with glee, for instance, how his Third Army men on one occasion stole First Army's precious fuel. He recounts with satisfaction how another time he altered the course of an offensive just in order to shut out Seventh Army from its reward. Repeatedly he fouled up the top command by demanding divisions, strategic railroads, as well as whole corps and sectors from his neighbors. The result was that the war's biggest single empire-builder built up just that opposition to himself which he had feared and had known would harm us all.

And if Patton thought that in peacetime this harm would be forgotten, his own book, along with that of his staff officer, Robert S. Allen (*Lucky Forward: The History of Patton's Third US Army*; Vanguard, \$5), does its best to perpetuate it. Allen's account alone, abundantly quoting mid-campaign Pattonesque taunts (First Army's men are "afraid of getting their footsies wet"; Ninth US Army's staff is "mediocre"), is a veritable arsenal of abuse.

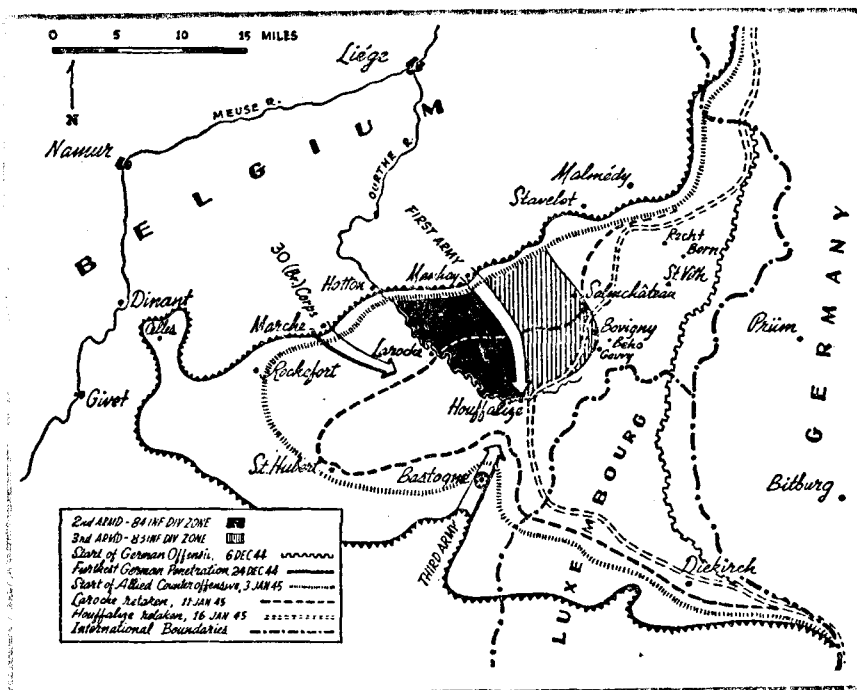
So we proceed from the anti-British polemics begun by Ralph Ingersoll's *Top Secret* to a campaign of inter-American infighting. Third Army having spoken its piece, partisans of all the other American armies in the same field will now feel bound to speak theirs, too—and to talk back to Patton in kind.

The rather colorless *Conquer: The Story of the Ninth Army*, by Brigadier General R. U. Nicholas (Infantry Journal Press; \$4.50), does little of this, since it appeared before Patton's book. But other entries are still to come. Amid rising historical tempers,

Robert E. Merriam's *Dark December: The Full Account of the Battle of the Bulge* (Ziff-Davis; \$3) stands out as an effort at objectivity. Merriam, at that time an intelligence officer in a Ninth Army outfit, isn't the kind of man who blows up on hearing Patton's boast (as reported by Allen) that "Third Army licked the Hun and broke the back of his offensive single-handed." All Merriam does is to point out that a good many other people besides Patton's were present on our side at this, America's greatest single battle, and that just as all shared in its blunders, so all shared in final success.

Foiled. Merriam begins by disposing of the several claims to foreknowledge of Rundstedt's offensive that were afterward made by various American headquarters, including Patton's, and flatly declares that "We were completely, utterly fooled." Having thus cleared the air, he gives Patton full credit for the amazing switchback by which he pulled almost a whole engaged corps out of his own Saar front on Eisenhower's appeal, and moved it 80 miles northward virtually overnight to shore up the threatened sector. But Merriam reminds us that thereby Patton was once again fighting the least armored side of Hitler's army. German strategy was always to herd its armor to the north—its eye being on the Channel ports and then on the inner line of defense of the Ruhr. Patton hit the Germans brilliantly from the southern side. But someone else had to smack them from in front.

Backing up young ex-Captain Merriam's observations, Field Marshal Montgomery's chief of staff, Major General de Guingand (in *Operation Victory*; Scribner, \$3.75), tries suavely to make out a case for the management of the tough northern or inner sector of the Allied Western Front. He appears to be on sure ground when he politely recalls that during the initial clash in France, Montgomery had to face the main weight of German armor on his narrow front; but he is not on any such sure ground when he slides over his chief's willingness to



MAPS AND DRAWINGS FROM "THE BATTLE OF GERMANY"

THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

retreat during the Battle of the Bulge ("disgusting," General Bradley called it). He doesn't help matters by remarking that Montgomery was merely "rather naughty" when in spite of his bearishness about the Bulge situation, he tried to take public credit for saving it.

From the angers and inferences of partisan high-level literature, one turns with relief to the humbler histories that have been published of smaller units and battles. The War Department has performed a major service with the "Armed Forces in Action Series" which it has prepared primarily for hospitalized veterans, and which concentrate on dramatic times and places.

Good examples. Of these, the accounts entitled *Omaha Beachhead* and *St. Lô* (available through the Government Printing Office; \$1.50 and \$1.25) are so far the best examples. The former, especially, manages to convey by means of tactical maps, photographs and documentary excerpts the particular agony and confusion of landing under heavy fire upon a hostile shore: Carefully avoiding favorite reportorial locutions of the "blazing-advance," "grim-faced-

Yanks," and "doggedly-resisting-Krauts" variety, it soberly records the way in which, for instance, 27 of one assault wave of 32 tanks were lost before they were set ashore, and how half of a party of 64 US Rangers were killed as they crossed the sands.

In addition, several unofficial divisional and regimental histories have appeared, and of these Theodore Draper's *The 84th Division in the Battle of Germany* (Viking; \$5) seems to set the highest standard. The 84th was an average division—neither one of the first ashore nor one of the latest also-rans. It went into action just in time to slug its way through the Siegfried Line when the going was toughest, and then to be thrown into the maelstrom of the Bulge.

With a precise eye for detail, Draper lays bare the substance of war in terms of single, mud-caked, mine-shocked, scared platoons wearily inching forward. He commends in undertones and is charitable toward error. His brief comment on his division's arrival in the Bulge ("We did not know, nor could First Army Headquarters tell us, what to expect, where the enemy was, how strong he was, or where and how strong our friendly forces were") comes near to being a

perfect description of the isolation and confusion of battle.

The other war. The Pacific War, since it spread out so much farther than the western campaign in Europe, is a far less manageable one to write about. One of the few US historians who has tackled it—Frank O. Hough in *The Island War: The US Marine Corps in the Pacific* (Lippincott; \$5)—has let himself get so lost in the myriad details of a score of separate assaults that he manages to make even the Marines' splendid story become repetitious and finally dull.

But repetition, it must be granted, is the essence of the Corps' historic job. Hough points out that the Marines had made more than 160 landings on hostile shores even before World War II. True, most of these were uninvited descents upon feeble, nearby Latin American states that had failed to pay their bills to us or "keep order"; but, whatever one may think of the purposes that underlay them, one may at least console oneself with the thought that the experience thereby gained served to preserve in the Corps a special knowledge of the art of amphibious assault—the most difficult of the military arts and one which neither Napoleon nor Hitler ever mastered. (Nor, for that matter, did our own Army—until Marine instructors took it in hand, as Hough explains with satisfaction.)

A work of a higher order is Fletcher Pratt's *The Marines' War* (William Sloane Associates; \$5). To this veteran student, the whole of our Pacific campaign is greater than the sum of its parts, and he makes individual Marine operations more intelligible by constantly relating them to our strategy's grand design. But Pratt's over-all intention does not get in the way of a gift for narrative that reaches its best in his front-line close-up of the grit, disorder and determination of the Guadalcanal campaign. Official files were opened to him, and he makes dramatic use of captured Japanese documents to round out the story. It is to the credit of our brass that they let Pratt have his way with what they gave

him, even when it came to revealing blunders and inter-service rivalries.

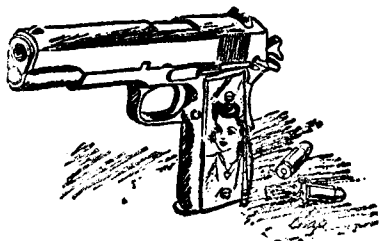
Admiral Halsey, recounting in his *Story* the sweeps of his vast Third Fleet closer and closer to Japan, shows himself to be a vivid chronicler too. Sometimes his vividness almost gets the better of him—as it once threatened to do in battle. For instance:

"The next two dispatches arrived close to 1000 [during the battle of Leyte Gulf; the second, from the top-side Admiral Nimitz, in effect, asked what in hell Halsey's fleet was up to]. . . . I was as stunned as if I had been struck in the face. . . . I snatched off my cap, threw it on deck. . . . I was so mad I couldn't talk. . . . The orders I now gave, I gave in rage."

Continuing in this vein, Halsey's book makes capital reading, and every armchair admiral's heart is sure to go out to this leonine seadog who fell in love, but absolutely, with air power, and who was somewhat confused about what to do with the lumbering battlewagons that brought up his rear. But Halsey, the victor of a hundred combat strikes, is understandably too proud of the sacrifice and achievement of his own men to be able to give a considered picture of the whole.

Working histories. Naval Reserve Captain Walter Karig has tried it, with various collaborators, in the series entitled *Battle Report* (Vol. I, *Pearl Harbor to Coral Sea*, \$3.50; Vol. II, *The Atlantic War*, \$3.50; Vol. III, *Pacific War; Middle Phase*, \$5; all Rinehart and Company). These books, although inclined to fulsome self-congratulation and citation, have the vigor if not the sober breadth and depth to stand up for a while as working histories of our maritime effort against Japan.

They have been compromised, though, by the scheduled appearance



of the Pacific volumes of Professor Morison's semi-official naval history. If its first two instalments, dealing with warfare against Germans (*The Battle of the Atlantic: 1939-43*; \$6, and *Operations in North African Waters*; \$5; both published by Little, Brown), are a guide, this series will be unique.

Morison's special advantages are fourfold: first, as his long academic career shows, he can write history brilliantly; second, he has followed the sea and can also write of it brilliantly; third, upon President Roosevelt's instigation, the Navy sent him to sea to write up its battles, and then let him go through all its relevant documents when he came back; fourth, having done this, Morison was allowed to write his story as a private citizen—which means that, although considered in naval circles as "one of the family," he is free, when he feels the need, to let his chips fall where they may.

He has done just this in his North African volume, when he describes the confusion and mishandling of most of our first landing operations. He has also done it in *The Battle of the Atlantic*, in recording the tragi-comic bewilderment of our coastal commands during Admiral Dönitz's shrewd 1942 U-boat offensive along our shores. His tone is judicious, his detail authoritative, his narrative steeped in blue-water color and his sense deeply historical. The Navy, which used to sit back in silent superiority while the Army did the talking, is now having its own tale told in a language such as first-hand military history has rarely known.

How it came. Walter Millis' *This Is Pearl: The United States and Japan, 1941* (Morrow; \$4) is, strictly speaking, pre-military history: that is, it deals with the moves that led to the deadly surprise dealt upon our sitting-duck fleet. But in his discussion of the gathering impetus of these Japanese moves, and above all of the failure of our top civil and military brains alike to recognize them for what they were, Millis becomes concerned with war history at a high and subtle level.

For the fact is that, through code intercepts, we either knew what the Japanese were about to do or could readily deduce it. But a series of psychological blocks prevented our leaders—as well as the rest of us—from adjusting minds to facts. Thus, two weeks before the fatal day, our intelligence officers "lost" the main body of Japanese aircraft carriers whose routine radio traffic on home station they had been hearing—and they thought nothing of it.

Just so, three years later in Europe, our intelligence spotters "lost" the mass of armored divisions Hitler was secretly assembling for his last gamble in the Bulge—and they, too, thought nothing of it. In both cases, it was our own complacency, grandiose apartness and air of exclusive ease that threatened to defeat us.

WORTH REPRINTING

WILLIAM FAULKNER is certainly the first of our regional novelists, not as a mere documented chronicler of his locale, but for his forceful, poetic concept of the American South. His books, crammed with facts, incidents and varied types of characters, are based on a keen understanding of the history and social and economic conditions of his region. But it is the documentation of a nightmare; and material which would overwhelm or make ludicrous the realistic novel is beautifully suited to Faulkner's fantasies. An excellent example of his work is the recently reprinted *Light in August* (New Directions; \$3.50).

This is a completely pessimistic book; the key word is "doom." Out of the initial collapse of the lost war are left a spirit of grandiose ferocity, a landscape of exhausted fields and decayed houses, a frustrated sense of hopeless reform, the personal aggression of a narrow Presbyterianism, or a revivalist religion which only extends the tumultuous dream. But present above all are the Negroes, "a race doomed and cursed to be forever and ever a part of the white race's doom and curse for its sins . . . the curse of every white child that ever was born

and that ever will be born . . . the black shadow in the shape of a cross."

Thus interlocked, the white race, saddled with its cross, struggles in an internecine warfare to be free of it, that is, free of what is a part of itself, its "doom and curse." All the while ridden by a guilt that "does not even say . . . 'There remains yet something of honor and pride, of life'."

Doom. The archetype of this struggle is Joe Christmas, a white man haunted by a suspicion of Negro blood. Ironically, he doesn't even *know* that he is part Negro, but says, "If I'm not, damned if I haven't wasted a lot of time." For all his life he has tried to be first one thing, then another, and always the victim, first of all, of the other half of himself. "He had once taunted or teased white men into calling him a Negro in order to fight them, to beat them or be beaten; now he fought the Negroes who called him white." At the end of this hopeless antagonism, he could only will to "be beaten," to sink into "the black abyss which had been waiting, trying, for thirty years to drown him." Here he finds his death.

The sense of "doom" is intensified by the static nature of the book. The story is enormous and grotesque, but the seething activity only contrasts with the passivity of all the characters, no less than with Joe Christmas, in their calm acceptance of inevitable defeat. Oddly enough, even what might be called the comic relief from the supercharged emotionalism, takes the form of the light insouciance of the doomed. At the beginning of the book, a pregnant young woman sets out walking from Alabama to find her truant lover. She finds him, loses him, gives birth to her child, passes from hand to hand, becomes involved in the tragic fortunes of Joe Christmas. On the last page of the book she has caught a short ride, and bumps along on the back of a truck, nursing her baby. Her comment on it all: "My, my. A body does get around. Here we ain't been coming from Alabama but two months, and now it's already Tennessee."

JOHN FARRELLY

MOVIES: Lovers' Meeting

JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S "The Voice of the Turtle," an amusing if mindless little comedy of love on the rebound, has been one of the great Broadway money-makers of recent years because its craftsmanship is superb and because it is just naughty enough to lure the ladies away from their parish responsibilities. It is pretty fragile stuff, but it has been transferred to film virtually undamaged, with Van Druten himself doing the necessary rewriting.

In the play, it is true, the young couple, after traipsing back and forth through a small apartment for something more than two acts, find themselves at the end simultaneously in the bedroom. The film regulates their wanderings a bit more strictly, but they come close enough to meeting across the counterpane to produce much the same stimulation. It's a nip-and-tuck relationship all the way through.

Ronald Reagan, as a GI who wants to make the most out of a weekend pass to New York and who finds it difficult to scare up a hotel room, and Eleanor Parker, as a fledgling actress with a heart that bruises too easily, are dewily sweet in their unconventional intimacy.

Miss Parker preserves the fact if not the appearance of propriety with a demonstration of pussycat cuteness that keeps her military friend on an even keel and would probably have driven him into the night if it hadn't been raining so hard. Eve Arden's mink-trimmed knowledge of men points up her little friend's precarious innocence, and she almost steals the show while she's losing the boy friend. Her caricature of a Manhattan manhunt would have been good comedy if someone had told her not to underline it quite so heavily.

"The Voice of the Turtle" won't cause any stir in the Oscar sweepstakes, but it will pass some mild time for you, and it may convince the uncharitable that a couple can brew coffee together in the morning without neces-

sarily having broken any commandments the night before.

East is East. With "Shakuntala," based on an ancient legend of love and royalty and magic, India is invading the American movie market. Unless stronger reinforcements are on the way, "Shakuntala" will hold no beach-heads.

It is the kind of story in which all that matters is the manner of the telling. In this case, even making allowance for differences of tradition and temperament, the manner is silly. The picture lacks pathos or dignity, delicacy or wit—qualities that are not stopped by cultural borders.

An Indian maiden, raised by a holy man in a kind of animal preserve, falls in love with a mighty prince she has surprised on a poaching expedition. The courtship is the kind in which the young lady keeps dropping her gardening implements and catching her garments on bushes, and the honeymoon is one of those hilarious affairs in which the two chase each other around the trunks of trees.

There are some remarkably good shots of a flock of tame deer, but the rest of the acting is about at the level of the old Biograph days.

Friend of Crosby. In his latest drama, "Where There's Life," Bob Hope's aspirations to a career of ease and safety are frustrated because he is thought to be heir to the throne of Muldavia or Bulldozia or some such Balkan-sounding kingdom. Hope is supposed to be marrying the sister of William Bendix, who is insistent on the point, but assorted Muldavian skulduggery postpones the wedding indefinitely. He ends up in the arms of a lady general (Signe Hasso).

By now, Hope's comedy has become as predictable as a plum pudding. How much of it you want to take is a matter of personal taste and digestion.

ROBERT HATCH

LABOR: The Brotherhoods Catch Up

THE New York Times's labor reporter, Louis Stark, wrote last week that three powerful labor unions, members of the AFL Railway Employees' Department, blame the machinery of law for the fact that rail workers still have a 48-hour week.

It is instructive to those who have a pragmatic attitude toward labor relations—and congressional statutes which attempt to regulate labor relations—to observe how the Railway Labor Act in recent years has been coming apart at the seams.

The basic statute was adopted in 1926. For many years it was praised by management and union spokesmen, to say nothing of politicians, as the model of a modern law to avert "national emergency" strikes.

The machinery of the Act includes a National Mediation Board, available for advice and conciliation when unions and managements are unable to reach an agreement, and also provides for appointment of special fact-finding boards by the President after a strike notice is filed. A total "cooling-off" period of 60 days is established to give these boards a chance to do their work.

Now, after years of experience, certain disturbing conclusions have become unavoidable.

First, the existence of top-level government machinery as an integral part of the collective-bargaining process had the natural psychological effect of creating an attitude of dependence. Since the machinery is there, unions and management have tended to run

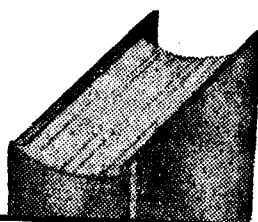
to the government boards rather than wrestle with their own problems.

Second, the law in recent years has been thoroughly unsuccessful in checking strikes. Other devices had to be adopted.

The collapse of the statute as a strike-preventive is rather remarkable. Its terms are now applied to the air-transport lines as well as railroads, but both Trans-World Airlines and American Overseas Airlines have suffered strikes. Even in the railroad industry the law has not, for the past six years, prevented strikes.

Breakdown. In 1941, after all the elaborate mumbo-jumbo of mediation and fact-finding had been completed, rail brotherhoods were still about to strike. President Roosevelt asked his "fact-finders" to sit once more as a special extra-legal group of mediators and the unions were awarded a larger wage increase than the same persons,

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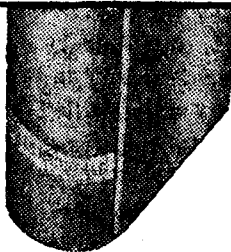
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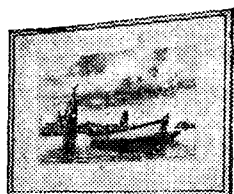
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as fact-finders, had considered appropriate.

In 1943, operating rail brotherhoods (the unions are divided into "operating" and "non-operating" employees) again were about to strike because Economic Stabilizer Fred M. Vinson (now Chief Justice) denied them certain wage increases recommended by a fact-finding board. Again Roosevelt intervened and found a formula permitting the wage rise; he acted after the Senate (including Senator Truman) had resolved unanimously that the increase was warranted.

In 1946 the machinery once more broke down. Two of the five big operating unions refused to accept wage rises proposed by a fact-finding board and went on strike. Truman, by this time in the White House, broke the walkout with his famous "draft-strikers" proposal. But again his concessions exceeded those proposed by the boards created by the law.

Self-help. In current negotiations, two of the operating brotherhoods and the railroad managements worked out agreements without resorting to the machinery of the law. This was not because their problems were simpler; on the contrary, many complicated questions about wage rates and rules and changes were involved. But the parties returned to collective bargaining and complete self-reliance. They had learned that government agencies could not do their work for them.

Now the 17 non-operating unions, seven of which are now meeting in Chicago to decide procedure in forthcoming bargaining, are showing signs of discomfort. They complain that under the law's machinery they have fallen behind the parade; that their members are denied paid vacations, shift premiums, shorter working hours and other benefits gained by unions left free of legalistic inhibitions.

The decline in prestige and effectiveness of the Railway Labor Act is one reason that highly competent experts distrust laws, however well intended, which try to eliminate national-paralysis strikes merely by compulsory cool-offs and government in-

tervention. A distinguished committee recently issued a report, sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund, recommending a different approach: that workers in vital industries be granted premium pay and working conditions in return for their own recognition that strikes in these industries are, for practical reasons, impossible. The report has been pretty well ignored.

Notes. The Taft-Hartleyized National Labor Relations Board is falling further behind in its case load. The backlog is now more than 5,000 cases, as compared to 3,900 when the new law became effective on August 22. Because employer charges of secondary boycotts, illegal strikes and jurisdictional strikes take precedence over all other complaints, General Counsel Robert N. Denham's staff is virtually unable to investigate union charges.

Denham has "clarified" his recent statement that the Remington Rand Company would sign a new contract with the CIO United Electrical Workers "at its own peril." He meant, Denham says, that a union-shop contract would be signed at the company's "peril" because UE officers have not filed non-Communist affidavits and the NLRB therefore will not conduct a T-H Act referendum to authorize the union shop. . . . The Communications Workers of America, independent telephone workers' union, has joined the parade of organizations seeking "third-round" wage increases because of congressional failure to roll back prices.

WILLARD SHELTON



THEATER: The Vanishing Actor

FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS I have been interviewing actors for parts in a new play and listening to them read, and I have come away with a heavy sense of sorrow. An actor can, and very often does, depress a playwright because he is bad, but my present melancholy comes from the fact that so many of these actors are very good.

A steady and abundant stream of talented people flowed across the stage of the theater which we used for our readings. Several of the roles could have been filled 10 times over.

As an employer, operating in an oversupplied labor market, I should be delighted with this opportunity to pick and choose. But as a man who wishes to continue to work in the theater for many years to come, I view this bonanza of talent with terrible alarm. For what it means is that expert and useful people are deprived of the chance to practise their craft, to be seen, to improve, to maintain the bare minimum of optimism which art demands of the artist.

Slow starvation. The actor is the basic soil of our theater. We are permitting that soil mercilessly to erode in our careless postwar era, and we shall pay for it later when we attempt to plant a richer crop. Rocketing production costs that limit the number of plays put into rehearsal; the scrambling retrenchment of Hollywood, fearful in the face of diminishing returns, the British tax and the Red scare; the creeping sickness of the radio networks upon which so many actors depend for their bread and butter; all have combined to hurl the members of Equity into an early depression.

The economic results of this are too evident to warrant discussion; but the artistic results are no less important. What sort of theater will we have five years from now, 10 years from now, if our actors have not acted, our young people never been given a chance to get that final education—

actual performance on a real stage?

Some steps are being taken to remedy the easily diagnosed ills of our present-day theater, but they are tentative and inconclusive. The Equity Library Theater provides practice (without pay) on ill equipped stages for tiny audiences. The Experimental Theatre (with very little pay) promises six productions. Theaters in places like Hollywood and Dallas show surprisingly profitable results. But there is no concerted plan that would keep actors alive and working steadily.

Looking ahead. At the moment, I do not think there is any chance for improvement on the battlefields of Broadway, where the heavy artillery of the banks, the theater-owners, the large trade unions struggling to maintain their hard-won positions, volleys and thunders.

If I were an out-of-work actor, I would, as a desperate emergency measure, desert from this gigantic and bloody battle and seek a quieter sector of the line. I would try to collect around me friends of talent and ambition, and set out with them to pioneer among the many millions of Americans who do not live in New York, but who, conceivably, are willing to supplement their Hollywood diet with more substantial fare. It would not be glamorous; the work would be hard and the pay low; but it is not glamorous or easy or profitable to trudge daily from producers' offices on Forty-second Street to producers' offices on Fifty-seventh. The disappointments would be many, but there would be the sustaining satisfaction of work.

Serving themselves, such groups would be serving the theater. Keeping themselves in operating order, they would be preserving skills useful in better times. Creating audiences in places where the theater has not flourished before, they would build audiences which would demand theater thereafter.

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RADIO: Social Significance

THIS DEPARTMENT has been double-crossed by Big Business. For weeks, I was set to do a sharp critique of commercial radio's tendency to play much too safe by limiting dramatic writers to themes that are totally innocuous. Examples abound, but I was going to hang my sermon on the most important of this year's new dramatic programs, the full-hour "Ford Theatre" which NBC broadcasts Sundays from five to six p.m. Because this show has not only ample time to develop a big dramatic theme, but also ample budget, it was a natural for my evil purpose. Every few weeks, "Ford Theatre" gets out of radio's groove of relying on adaptations by producing a

play written directly for radio. These originals, when they were announced, were expected to add something new to radio. The first of them, however, did nothing of the sort, and so I waited for the second to prove my point. Ford fooled me. The second play in the series really showed how good radio can be.

Therese Lewis and Irving Pincus wrote the latest of the originals, "Father, Dear Father." Pincus is an experienced stage producer; Miss Lewis is an old hand at radio writing. Between the two of them, they came through with a delightful play that combined sensible, adult comedy with a touch of social content. The main

character of the piece, done to perfection by Edwin Jerome, was a former expatriate who had returned to his family in Connecticut after losing everything he owned during the Nazi occupation of France. The prodigal father not only taught his American wife and daughter self-respect, but also showed a small town in Connecticut how to organize against incipient fascism. The ideological point grew naturally out of the script, and was therefore the more effective as propaganda for what has come to be called "The American Heritage."

Radio revivals. Howard Lindsay, who acts as the master of ceremonies on the Ford show, suggested none too subtly on the air that "Father, Dear Father" would make an excellent play for the movies or the stage. It's time, he said, that radio started paying back to the screen and stage. Lindsay was right. A lot of excellent radio material is lost once it has received a single broadcast. Radio repeats are extremely rare, and cases of radio dramas transferred to the other media are even less frequent.

CBS is now trying to do something about both these conditions. A couple of important executives have been assigned by CBS to the old-script store-room, to dig up air shows that merit repeat broadcasts and transference to screen or stage. The project should be good for the morale (and purse!) of drama's forgotten man, the radio writer.

One of CBS's old-script department's first accomplishments was to schedule a repeat performance for "Cabin B-13" on a special Saturday-night mystery program. John Dickson Carr's "Cabin B-13," along with Lucille Fletcher's "Sorry, Wrong Number," are undoubtedly the best of the many fine plays done in the past on "Suspense." That program, certainly the very best of the whodunit shows, is itself now being revived in an expanded 55-minute program. As with the "Ford Theatre," the extra time may pay off.

Truman committee on the air. "To Secure These Rights," the report

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of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which I mentioned here recently as due for radio dramatization on the Mutual network, is now definitely scheduled. It will be heard four Tuesday nights, beginning February 10, at 9:30 p.m. Here is an opportunity for listeners to make sure that their local Mutual affiliate does not slough off a major production. As you know, a show of this kind, since it is a sustainer, need not be picked up by each of the network's affiliates. It is probable that some of Mutual's affiliates may prefer to sell the time or to schedule something guaranteed harmless instead. But if station managers heard from listeners in advance, they might think twice before refusing to carry "To Secure These Rights."

There will be still further opportunity for stations around the country to air dramatizations of this civil-rights report. The Institute for Democratic Education is going to do 13 transcriptions of 15-minute plays based on sections of the basic document.

I'll tell you more about these shows, and the stars they are to feature, as soon as the IDE's plans for the series are completed.

The IDE has just finished another batch of 15-minute shows—13 of them—under the general title "Stories to Remember." I haven't heard them yet, but I know they include radio adaptations of famous stories by Irwin Shaw, MacKinlay Cantor and Dorothy Canfield Fisher, among others. IDE transcriptions are available free to all radio stations, and some of the shows have been played by as many as 800 radio stations in the United States. In addition, schools may buy an entire series of 13 IDE transcribed shows for as little as \$15.

I understand that many schools, and some fraternal and trade-union organizations, are taking this opportunity to use radio (via playback machine) for smaller, more intimate audiences. It's good to know that not all of radio dies as soon as the station broadcasting it has signed off.

SAUL CARSON

FARM: "Old Ma Bell" v. the Farmer

AERICAN FARMERS have about 2,850,000 tractors and millions of modern plows and other tools which make them the most efficient agricultural producers in the world. Eighty-three percent have radios and 61 percent have electricity and a wide variety of time-saving electrical equipment.

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A letter from a manager of a farm REA co-op, published in the December issue of *Rural Electrification*, tells of conditions in his area which are representative of conditions elsewhere:

... No rural telephone service is available from the telephone company which is serving our area. ... [We]

are unable to get any satisfactory commitment from our telephone company as they do not seem at all interested in this type of expansion. ... Many of the independent companies no doubt are unable to finance an extensive rural development program.

CHARLES M. STEWART, Manager,
Farmers Rural Electrical Co-op
Glasgow, New York

The Bell Telephone System, or "Old Ma Bell" as it is called in the South, is largely to blame for such conditions. Bell Telephone Companies have never been particularly interested in giving service to rural areas. It is significant that during the period 1920-40, when "Old Ma Bell" got a stranglehold on the entire industry, farmer telephone service went downhill. During these years, the Bell system took over hundreds of exchanges that previously were run by rural and small-town companies. From 1925 to 1934 the Bell system purchased outright or

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NEW REPUBLIC

gained indirect control of 470 independent telephone companies. The Bell Company's policy was to "skim the cream"; that is, extend its lines into areas where service was relatively lucrative. As a result farmers, except in densely populated areas, were denied service.

Fighting back. Since the war farmers have been putting pressure on Congress to enact telephone legislation. One of those interested in the plight of the farmers is Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, where, according to the 1945 census, only five percent of Alabama farmers have telephones. Hill introduced bills in both the 79th and 80th Congresses, authorizing up to \$50 million to be loaned at 1.75-percent interest for the construction of telephones in rural areas. The Hill bill (S 43) is especially good because it provides that 20 percent of the money must go to small exchanges. The whole thing would be administered by the REA and preference would be given to non-profit and coöperative organizations.

This bill is bitterly opposed by both the Bell companies and the US Independent Telephone Association. Although the latter group claims to be independent, it sees eye to eye with Ma Bell in such matters. One spokesman said the bill was greatly to be feared because it would let the "camel's nose of government ownership into the tent of private enterprise."

It soon became evident that the telephone company was really frightened. In 1944—the very next week after it was announced that a telephone bill would be introduced—a joint committee of the Bell companies and the independents was

formed, and on October 2 the industry announced a great campaign to bring one million telephones to rural areas in the next three to five years, and said that \$100 million would be spent for the purpose.

The Bell System executives were not fooling when they promised to bring telephones to a million rural homes. During the 21-month period—April, 1945, to January, 1947—450,000 farm phones were installed. This is three times as many as were installed on farms during the period 1935-40. As a result, the percentage of farmers having telephones has increased from 25 percent in 1940 to 40 percent in 1947. The telephone industry estimates that 50 percent will have telephones by 1950.

Telephone companies have been doing a good deal of experimental work in devising new methods of bringing telephones to farmers. They have coöperated with REA engineers in planning the best way to use REA poles for telephone wire and to use electric wires to carry telephonic communication; radio telephones, to supplement wire installations, will be employed in some areas.

It should be pointed out that the bulk of the Bell program includes those phones which will, from the Bell standpoint, pay an acceptable profit.

The million telephones promised by the industry include only 700,000 on farms. The other 300,000 will be in non-farming areas.

Co-ops' job. It is obvious that even after the program is completed, millions of American farmers will still be without telephone service. Costs in areas where these farmers live would be so high that it is extremely doubtful if private capital can be induced to finance such a venture. This does not necessarily mean that in most areas farm coöperatives couldn't eventually pay for their telephone service if they were permitted to bor-

row money at long-term, low-interest rates. Although the rural program of the telephone industry is all to the good, it doesn't lessen the need for the enactment of such a measure as the Hill bill.

ANGUS McDONALD



CORRESPONDENCE

The Cowles Brothers

SIR: Please discontinue as of the present date our subscription to the *New Republic*.

We shall regret very much missing the excellent editorials of Henry Wallace but do not feel we can conscientiously continue to take a magazine which permits the use of such a cheap, inaccurate and sensational article as the recent one by Dale Kramer on the Cowles brothers. Differences of opinion we can well understand and honest argument we can welcome, but this malicious and pointless personal attack, particularly on Mike Cowles and his wife, indicates a dearth of ideas beneath the contempt of serious readers. It was for a similar reason (malicious personal attacks on individuals) that we discontinued Cissie Patterson's *Times-Herald* in Washington and have always refused to take the Hearst newspapers.

Knowing Henry Wallace as we do, we are certain that he knew nothing of the

contemplated publication of the Cowles article, but we do not believe he will long allow his name to be associated with a magazine using such methods. He comes of a journalistic family respected for honesty and dignity and is well aware of the standards of decent journalism.

As a member of Cowles family I might be accused of prejudice in its behalf, but nobody knows better than I the sturdy idealism and the disinterested desire for accuracy that have for long years marked the Cowles publications. That the same can no longer be said of the *New Republic* is a matter of regret to me, for on the whole my husband and I find ourselves in agreement with your editorial slant and Mr. Wallace's opinions.

HELEN COWLES LECRON
Berkeley, Calif.

SIR: Mrs. LeCron cites no inaccuracies that I can comment on. I am sure that a rereading of the piece will convince her that no personal malice is present or intended. If any inaccuracies exist, I should be happy to hear of them and would be prompt to correct them.

New York City DALE KRAMER

BANDWAGON

Orchids to the Common Man

Thus in understanding the worker we must consider him both as an individual and as a member of a social group. In these respects he is no different from any other human being. — *From the Magazine of Small Business.*

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If the ring pictured were a natural stone, you'd pay \$5,000. But it's synthetic, so you pay only \$185. Now almost anyone can afford these magnificent stones!—*Advertisement of Marcus & Co. at Gimbel's, in the New York Times.*

Free Translation

The [Maritta M.] Wolff novel, which the studio acquired last July for a reported \$100,000 by way of a contest, was published recently by Random House. The story deals with postwar divorce, but it is expected that

the screen adaptation will avoid the divorce question. — *From the New York Times.*

One at a Time

I heard that he fell hard for her when he saw her [Linda Christians] in Rome, but I had no idea it was so serious. I'll say for Ty [Tyrone Power] when he is in love he is always a one-woman man. He was that way with Lana Turner and with Sonja Henie and others. — *From Louella O. Parsons' syndicated column.*

So-What Department

Residents voted 58 to 47 Tuesday to permit Sunday movies, previously prohibited. However, Parryville has no theaters. — *AP dispatch from Parryville, Pa.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings.—The Editors

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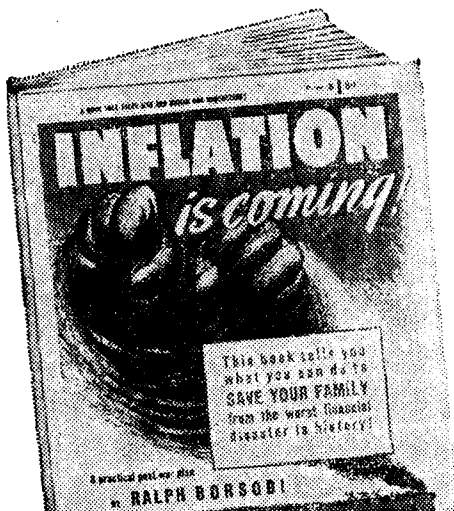
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